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THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

A Magazine Devoted to the Study of
Mahayana Buddhism

Edited by
DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI
AND
BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI

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EDITORS

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI

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THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE LANKAVATĀRA SŪTRA

1. The Chinese Translations—2. Comparison of the Contents of the Three Chinese Translations and One Sanskrit Text—3. Examples of the Textual Differences—4. A Further Examination of the Sūtra as to its Inner Connections—5. The *Lankavatāra* and Bodhidharma, the Father of Zen Buddhism in China—6. The Study of the Sūtra after Bodhidharma in China and Japan—7. An English Translation of the Introductory Chapter from the Sanskrit Edition.

I. THE CHINESE TRANSLATIONS

Altogether four Chinese translations of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* were made between about A.D. 420 and 704, of which we have at present three still in existence. The first, in four fasciculi, was by Dharmaraksha, whose title was, “Master of the Law, Teacher of the Tripitaka, of Central India.” According to 開元錄,¹ this was done from the same text which was later used by Guṇabhadra, Bodhiruci, and Śikṣhānanda. But this statement is not quite exact. “The same text” here undoubtedly allows of a wide latitude of interpretation as we shall know below when a comparative study of the different translations is made. He came to China in 412 and settled in Ku-tsang (姑臧), the capital of the Northern Liang. He spent eight years in translating the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra* in forty or thirty-six fasciculi, which he revised three times. Though it is not exactly known when the *Lankāvatāra* was translated by him, it is likely that the work was taken up after the *Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra*, that is, between 412–433. He was assassinated in 433 when he was forty-nine years old. Roughly speaking, the first Chinese translation of the *Lankāvatāra* was produced about fifteen hundred years ago.

¹ *Kai-yüan Lu*, Fas. IV, 38a (Kōkyō Shoin edition). This is a catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka compiled in the Kai-yüan era (713–741, A.D.), of the T’ang dynasty.

Unfortunately, this is lost. The title was simply, *The Lankā-Sūtra* (楞伽經).¹

The second translation, also in four fasciculi, which appeared in 443 bears the title, *The Lankāvatāra-Treasure-Sūtra* (楞伽阿跋多羅寶經) and the translator is Guṇabhadra, "The Law-teacher of the Tripitaka, of Central India." He came to China by sea in 435. On his way the wind ceased, the ship could not sail on, the supply of fresh water was exhausted, and the sailors did not know what to do. The situation, however, was improved by the mystic rites performed by Guṇabhadra; for the wind began to blow more favourably and a pouring rain saved them from dying of thirst. Among his translations we may mention the *Śrīmāla*, *Aṅglimāla*, *Samyuktāgama*, etc. He died in 468 at the age of 75.²

The Lankāvatāra Sūtra which is recorded as having been handed by Bodhidharma to his disciple Hui-k'ê was probably this Guṇabhadra translation in four fasciculi. It is strange that the first translation became lost so early as 700 when the fourth translation was issued. At the time of Tao-hsüan's *Catalogue of Buddhist Literature in Great T'ang* (大唐內典錄), which was completed in 664, mention is made of the first one. In Fas. VIII of this *Catalogue* under the heading, "Those sutras which have been translated under the former dynasties and at present are kept among the Tripitaka collection" (歷代衆經見入藏錄), he refers to the "*Lankāvatāra Sūtra* in ten fasciculi, kept in one case," which is evidently that by Bodhiruci; and a little further down there is another entry: "*The Lankāvatāra* in four fasciculi, two sutras in one case." This must be the case for the first and the second translations, as they were both compiled in four fasciculi. In the *Kai-yüan Catalogue*,

¹ 大唐內典錄, (*Tai-t'ang Nei-tien Lu*, a Catalogue of the Buddhist Books Compiled in the T'ang Dynasty), Fas. III, 64a (the Kōkyō Shoin edition). This is an earlier compilation than the *Kai-yüan Lu*, as the preface is dated the first year of Lin-tê, 664.

² *The Kai-yüan Lu*, Fas. V, 45b et seq. (the Kōkyō Shoin edition).

however, which was finished in 730, Dharmaraksha's *Lankāvatāra* is mentioned as lost. The loss must have taken place even earlier as I stated before; for Fa-tsang (法藏) who had much to do with the fourth or T'ang translation (done in the years 700-708) makes no reference whatever to the first. This was only forty years after the compilation of Tao-hsüan's *Catalogue*. It is quite unfortunate that we now have no means of seeing how far the agreements go between the first and the second translations, as they are both in four fasciculi and it is likely that they were made from the same original. Fa-tsang¹ criticises the second (or Sung) translation as being not quite good as a translation, for it retains to some extent the original Sanskrit diction which puzzles even the intelligent Chinese reader adequately to understand the sense.

The third one (入楞伽經) in ten fasciculi is by Bo-

¹ He died in 712, one of the greatest scholars in China and a most eminent figure in the history of the Avatamsaka school of Buddhism. He was a contemporary of Hsüan-chuang (玄奘), I-tsing (義淨), Hui-nêng (慧能), Shên-hsiu (神秀), Śikshānanda, Dīyākara, Bodhiruci (all of the T'ang dynasty), etc. When Hsüan-chuang came back from India, Fa-tsang was one of the learned scholars chosen by Hsüan-chuang to be his assistants or co-workers in converting the Sanskrit texts into the Chinese language. Fa-tsang, however, disagreed with Hsüan-chuang in the interpretation of the texts and withdrew from the translation bureau. Later, he worked with Śikshānanda in the translation of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* and the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, and illuminating lectures were given by him on the teachings of the *Avatamsaka* for the edification of the Empress Tsê T'ien (則天), who was one of the great women-rulers of China. His 入楞伽心義疏 (*Ju lêng-chia hsin hsiian-i*) is a short expository treatise on the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* throwing much light on the understanding of the text and its philosophy, and in this he complains of the second translation being difficult even for men of superior intelligence to understand it thoroughly, not to say anything about the ignorant and unlearned who are apt to give wrong interpretations to the text. This being really the case, as was confirmed later by Su Tung-pei and Ch'iang Chih-ch'ü, noted Chinese scholars of the Sung dynasty, the understanding of the *Lankāvatāra* must have caused a great deal of trouble among scholars. So far, however, in China and Japan the four fasciculi one has had a far wider circulation than the ten or the seven fasciculi one.

dhiruci, "the Law Teacher of the Tripitaka, of Northern India." It was finished in 513, about one hundred years after the Sung translation. Fa-tsang's remarks are: "Although this translation is fuller than the preceding one, the original meaning is not fully expressed and errors are more apt to creep in." This may be true to a certain extent, but as we now have no original text of this third, or Wei, translation, there is no way to verify this criticism of Fa-tsang. There are, however, some points in it which are in better agreement with the Nanjo edition than with the others. It may not be quite fair to say that Bodhiruci put in his own words to help the reading of the text; the fact may be, perhaps, that his original was largely mixed with gloss and that he was not discriminating enough to reject it as such. This fact partly shows that the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, being a difficult text to understand, not only textually but doctrinally as well, was already in bad condition from a literary point of view when it was brought into China by these early Indian missionaries.

The fourth Chinese translation, entitled *The Mahāyāna Lankāvatāra Sūtra* (大乘入楞伽經) in seven fasciculi, was produced in 700-704, and the chief translator was Śikshānanda. More details are known of this translation than of all preceding ones as regards the circumstances and persons concerned. The preface by the Empress Tsê-t'ien Wu-hou (則天武后) tells how it came to be translated once more by Śikshānanda and others; and, moreover, Fa-tsang, who was one of the Chinese scholars who were engaged in revising the translation by Śikshānanda, wrote a sort of commentary-introduction in which is given not only an analytical resumé of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, but a full account of the work itself. The following is quoted from the book (入楞伽心玄義):

"With regard to the translation: the four fasciculi one was done by Gunabhadra, Master of the Tripitaka, of India, at Chih-huan Ssü (祇洹寺), Tang Yang (丹陽), in the

Yüan-chia (玄嘉) period (424-453) of Sung; Pao-yün (寶雲) the monk took down the master's dictation and Hui-kuan (慧觀) put it into writing.¹ The ten fasciculi one was done toward the end of Wei by Bodhiruci, Master of the Tripitaka, of India, who was engaged in the work at Yung-nêng Ssü (永寧寺), Lo-yang (洛陽).²

"As to the present one, (that is, the seven fasciculi one), Śikshānanda, Master of the Tripitaka, of Yü-t'ien (于闐), is the translator, who, after finishing the translation

¹ 寶雲傳語慧觀筆受. *Chuan-yü* literally means "to transmit words," and *pi-shou* means "to receive with a writing brush." As Guṇabhadra who came from India probably could not speak Chinese well enough to make himself fully understood, Pao-yün acted as a kind of interpreter; or Guṇabhadra gave a literal translation of the original, which was done into literary Chinese by Pao-yün, and this in turn was put into writing by Hui-kuan. When the Indian translators were not complete masters of the Chinese language, there was always a "transmitter" who acted as a "go-between." In some cases there were other scholars engaged in the work, whose office it was to see if the original meaning was correctly understood, or to put the translation into better classical style, or to see that the translation fully expressed the original ideas. This more or less round-about way was inevitable, seeing that the translator did not have a complete command of the two languages, Sanskrit and Chinese. But it was in this way, too, that the Chinese translators so well produced the sense of the original, and it helped a great deal towards making Buddhism strike root firmly in the native soil. From the linguistic point of view, however, there might have been something missed in the Chinese versions which is retained in the Tibetan texts. So we read in the life of Hsüan-chuang as recorded in the *Kai-yüan Catalogue* (fas. VIII, 73a) that "in the former days the sutras were translated in this way: first, the original text was translated literally word by word, and this was turned round to adapt itself to the Chinese style of diction, and finally the words and sentences were rearranged and revised by those especially skilled in writing. Thus, while going through so many hands, the original writing suffered much alteration, sometimes something added, sometimes something taken away. But now in the case of Hsüan-chuang everything was managed single-handed; as words came out of his mouth they were at once written down and made a perfectly readable translation." Literary accuracy was thus gained, but the strange fact is that some of these older translations are still in far better circulation than the newer ones.

² According to the *Kai-yüan Catalogue* (fas. VIII, 56a), Sêng-lang (僧朗) and Tao-chan (道湛) put the translation into writing.

of the *Avatamsaka* at Fo Shou-chi Ssü (佛授記寺), of the Eastern City, in the first year of Chiu-shih (久視, A.D. 700), was ordered by the Empress Tsê-t'ien to take up once more the task of translating the *Lankāvatāra*. Before the work was completed, Śikshānanda returned to the Capital and was given residence at the Chin-ch'an Ssü (清禪寺). The translation was roughly finished here, but before he had time to revise it he was allowed to return to his native land, by Imperial order. In the second year of Chang-an (長安, 702), Mi-t'o-shan (彌陀山), [a Master of] the Tripitaka, came from Tu-huo-lo (吐火羅), who, before coming to China, had spent twenty-five years in India, thoroughly mastering the Tripitaka, and he was especially learned in the *Lankāvatāra*. By Imperial order he was requested to revise Śikshānanda's translation, aided by such monk-translators as Fu-li (復禮), Fa-tsang (法藏), etc. Fu-li was engaged in giving final touch to the revised Chinese version, and an Imperial preface to the sutra was written, in which its merits were extolled.

"As to the four fasciculi translation, the rendering is not perfect, the wording is after the Western grammar (? 語順西音), which makes even men of superior intelligence confused, not knowing how to read it, while the ignorant and unlearned are apt to give wrong interpretations.

"The ten fasciculi one is somewhat fuller in paragraphs and chapters [than the preceding one], but the sacred sense is not adequately expressed. When words are added and sentences are mixed in, the meaning grows murky, frequently causing errors, and the result is that the truth, bright and clear, becomes obstructed in its course on account of the local dialect.¹

¹ This is the translation of 方言, *fang-yen*, but what it really means is hard to decide; for the ten fasciculi version of the *Lankāvatāra* was not surely written in any other language than the Chinese just like the other translations. May it, however, mean that Bodhiruci's original was well mixed up with gloss written in the local dialect of his native Northern India?

“The Empress regretting this inadequacy ordered another translation to be made. The present one was made by comparing in detail five Sanskrit copies, and after examining the two Chinese translations. What was in accordance with [the true sense] was adopted, while what was not properly done was corrected. Many years of labour have thus ended in producing this splendid work, in which it is expected that the [original] sense is accurately represented and scholars may thus be saved from committing further errors.”

The preface by the Empress Tsê-t'ien, which is usually found attached to the T'ang edition, generally agrees with the account given by Fa-tsang, but there is one point that is not quite clear and seems to disagree with Fa-tsang. Among other things we have the following in the preface which concerns the translation itself: “Originally this sutra was brought here from the Western country (西國), in the era of Yüan-chia. Guṇabhadra translated it, but it had not a wide circulation. Bodhiruci's version came out in the era of Yen-chang, but it misses the original meaning in many respects. Full of reverential thoughts about the transmission [of the Good Law], I earnestly wished for its prosperous condition. In the first year of Chiu-shih, which corresponds in the cyclical commutation to the year of *kêng-tsü*, and in the sixth month of the year, during the summer season, I went to Chi-fêng (箕峯) to escape the heat and enjoy the cool air by the river Ying-shui (潁水), when at the San Yang palace another translation was produced. The essentials of the three copies were inquired into and the finished teaching was compiled into seven fasciculi. The Very Reverend Śikṣhānanda of Yü-t'ien who is a learned monk of the Tripitaka, and Fu-li, a priest of Tai-fu-hsien Ssü (大福先寺) and others [partook in the work]; they have all the reputation equal to that of Tao-an (道安) and Hui-yüan (慧遠), and virtues like those of Ma-t'eng (摩騰) and Fa-lan (法蘭); they are again all worthy to succeed

in the steps of Nāgārjuna, and have deeply delved into the secrets of Aśvaghosha; they are equally great in the fragrance of their moral conduct and in the flower of their enlightened minds; the jewel of their intelligence and the moon of their spiritual essence are both perfectly full: therefore, they are capable of thoroughly understanding the mystery [of Buddhism] and manifesting the deepest significance of it. The final copying [of the translation] was completed on the fifteenth day of the first month of the fourth year of Chang-an."

In this flowery composition by the Empress Tsê-t'ien, the phrase "討三本之要詮, to enquire into the essentials of (the) three books (or copies?),'" is somewhat ambiguous. Does "*san pên*" refer to the three preceding translations, or to three Sanskrit copies which they utilised? As the first translation was already lost at that time, the "*san pên*" must mean three original Sanskrit copies which they then had at hand. If so, the number does not agree with that mentioned by Fa-tsang as already quoted, for he says distinctly five copies instead of three. Could the character "three" be an error of the scribes? Fa-tsang who was a great scholar and an actual participant in the production of the seven fasciculi Chinese *Lankāvatāra* translation, has a better claim for authority, if choice is to be made between the literary remains of the time concerning the original texts, etc.

However this might have been, it is clear that the seven fasciculi translation is apparently the best of all the Chinese translations of this important Mahāyāna sutra, seeing that it was produced by the joint labour of competent scholars both Indian and Chinese. But, strangely, almost all the commentaries written seem to be based on the four fasciculi one by Guṇabhadra, which is regarded as Bodhidharma's copy handed over to his disciple, Hui-k'ê.

To sum up: the first Chinese translation of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* was completed between A.D. 420 and 430, a

second one appeared ten or twenty years later and each was made into four fasciculi. It took over a hundred years for the third in ten fasciculi to appear, while over two hundred years elapsed before the fourth in seven fasciculi was published, which means that the latest one came out over three hundred years after the first.

II. COMPARISON OF THE CONTENTS OF THE THREE CHINESE TRANSLATIONS AND ONE SANSKRIT TEXT

A detailed comparison of the three extant Chinese translations and the Sanskrit text of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* has not been attempted yet, except as to chapter-divisions and other general aspects. Before I present my own views concerning the result of such comparison, a tabular view of the contents as regards chapter-divisions of the four texts will be given below. (See page 10.)

This table shows at once (1) that the Guṇabhadra version¹ is very much simpler and shorter than all the others; (2) That Śikshānanda agrees with the Sanskrit as regards chapter divisions; (3) That Bodhiruci has more chapter headings, i.e., is cut into shorter sections; (4) That in Guṇabhadra, the first and the last two chapters are missing altogether; (5) That Guṇabhadra has practically no chapter-divisions whatever, and that while "Sarvabuddhapravacanaḥṛidaya" has the character "pin" (品) suffixed which is the usual Chinese term for the Sanskrit "parivarta" (division), this title is almost like a sub-title to the *Lankāvatāra* itself, as if it were another name for the sutra.

What do these plain facts indicate? The first logical

¹ Of the three existing Chinese translations, Guṇabhadra's is conveniently called the Sung version, Bodhiruci's the Wei, and Śikshānanda's the T'ang. Or, according to the number of fasciculi into which each version is divided, the Sung is often called simply the Four Fasciculi, the Wei the Ten Fasciculi, and the T'ang the Seven Fasciculi. In this chapter the translators' names will be used to designate the different versions.

*Table Showing Chapter-divisions in the Different
Texts of the Lankāvatāra.*

| Gunabhadra (Sung), A.D. 443, in 4 fas. | Bodhiruci (Wei), A.D. 513, in 10 fas. | Śikshānanda (T'ang), A.D. 700-704, in 7 fas. | Sanskrit, ed. 1923 |
|---|---|---|--|
| (wanting) | 1. Rāvaṇādhye- shaṇā | 1. Rāvaṇādhye- shaṇā | 1. Rāvaṇādhye- shaṇā |
| Sarvabuddha- pravacana- hṛdaya | 2. Praśna | 2. Sarvadharma- samuccaya | 2. Shaṭṭrimśat- sāhasra- sarvadharma- samuccaya |
| | 3. Sarvadharma- samuccaya | | |
| | 4. Buddhacitta | 3. Anityatā | 3. Anityatā |
| | 5. Lokāyatika | | |
| | 6. Nirvāṇa | | |
| | 7. Dharmakāya | | |
| | 8. Anityatā | | |
| | 9. Abhisamaya | 4. Abhisamaya | 4. Abhisamaya |
| | 10. Tathāgata- nityānitya | 5. Tathāgata- nityānitya | 5. Tathāgata- nityānitya |
| | 11. Buddhatā | 6. Kṣaṇika | 6. Kṣaṇika |
| | 12. Pañcadharma | | |
| | 13. Gangānadi- vāluka | | |
| | 14. Kṣaṇika | | |
| | 15. Nairmāṇika | 7. Nairmāṇika | 7. Nairmāṇika |
| | 16. Māṃsabha- kṣaṇa | 8. Māṃsabha- kṣaṇa | 8. Māṃsabha- kṣaṇa |
| (wanting) | 17. Dhāraṇī | 9. Dhāraṇī | 9. Dhāraṇī |
| | 18. "Sagāthakam" | 10. "Sagāthakam" | "Sagāthakam" |

inference is that Guṇabhadra being the oldest translation represents a more primitive *Lankāvatāra* than the others. Possibly the later texts had these three extra chapters added during the one hundred years that elapsed between Guṇabhadra and Bodhiruci. That they were mechanically added is shown by their having no organic connection with the older parts. As they have nothing new to propose, if they were not found in the text, we would not have missed them. The first chapter where Rāvaṇa, the Lord of Lankā, asks the Buddha to deliver a discourse on his inner perception of truth, may superficially appear to be a sort of introduction needed for the development of the sutra; but there is no doubt that it was added later to supply this need, though really there was no such need from the beginning. The Rāvaṇa chapter was prefixed when there was a need on the part of the later Mahayanists to get the sutra connected with the story of Rāvaṇa and Rāmacandra as told in the *Rāmāyaṇa* when the latter came to assume a definite form as an epic, which, according to scholars, took place probably in the third or the fourth century of the Christian era. As the Guṇabhadra text stands, the interpolation of the Rāvaṇa incident has no special help to offer in the understanding of the sutra. The chapter of Dhāraṇī is a very short one, occupying about three pages of the Nanjo edition. This was also added when Dhāraṇī began to enter into the body of Mahayana literature, which took place much later in the history of Mahayana Buddhism in India. That the "Sagāthakam" was also a later attachment is easily shown from the examination of its contents, but for this I will devote a special paragraph later. The Sanskrit text and Śikshānanda are in full agreement as to chapter-divisions, which undoubtedly points to one original; but a more detailed examination will reveal that the Sanskrit is more frequently in accord with Bodhiruci. A safe conclusion may be that the texts were all different; while Bodhiruci belongs to a later redaction and is to a great extent mixed with notes

and glosses, which fact makes it roughly 1.4 per cent. larger than Śikshānanda.

As I noted elsewhere¹ the whole *Lankāvatāra* is just a collection of notes unsystematically strung together, and, frankly speaking, it is a useless task to attempt to divide them into sections, or chapters (*parivarta*), under some specific titles. Some commentators have tried to create a system in the *Lankāvatāra* by making each paragraph somewhat connected in meaning with the preceding as well as the succeeding one, but one can at once detect that there is something quite constrained or far-fetched about the attempt. If this, however, is to be done successfully, the whole arrangement as it stands of the paragraphs must be radically altered; and this redaction is possible only by picking up and gathering together cognate passages which are found promiscuously scattered throughout the text, when for the first time a kind of system would be brought into the text. As the present form stands, passages of various connotations are juxtaposed, and a heading indicating one of the ideas contained in them is given to the whole section, thus artificially separating it from the rest. Guṇabhadra has done the wisest thing by simply designating the entire sutra as "The Gist of the Buddha's Teaching" (*buddhapravacanahrīdayam*).

The chapter-divisions in Bodhiruci are sometimes more or less rational, while we find four or five sub-divisions made into one chapter in Śikshānanda as well as in the Sanskrit. In this case, one Bodhiruci section expounds generally one main idea in one prose portion which is abridged at the end into one metric form. To be exact, the chapter entitled "Anityatā" (Impermanency), which makes up the third chapter both in Śikshānanda and in the Sanskrit text, is sub-divided in Bodhiruci into five sections or chapters. The first sub-divided chapter on "Buddhacitta" (Buddha-mind) treats of fifteen different subjects, none of which make any

¹ *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. 75.

direct reference to "Buddhacitta." This title, therefore, does not at all indicate the contents of the chapter except in a most comprehensive way. The fifteen subjects treated in this Bodhiruci chapter on "Buddhacitta" are as follows: (1) The Will-body (*manomayakāya*); (2) the five deadly sins; (3) Buddhatā; (4) the sameness of all the Buddhas; (5) that not a word was uttered for preaching by the Buddha during his long life; (6) being and non-being; (7) the experience-fact and preaching about it; (8) false discriminations; (9) language and meaning; (10) the three kinds of wisdom; (11) the nine changes taught by the philosophers; (12) the nine fetters and the true understanding; (13) the relation between false discriminations and existence; (14) that the world is a mere name; and (15) suchness and preaching about it.¹ Each subject treated here is expounded in prose as well as in verse. From this the reader can see how diversified are the topics treated and yet there is something more or less common running underneath them. Of the rest of the five sub-chapters in Bodhiruci the one on "Dharmakāya" can be further divided into two sections, each of which is composed of prose and verse. Except these two sub-chapters on "Buddhacitta" and "Dharmakāya," all the chapters in Bodhiruci consist regularly of prose and verse parts.

The sixth chapter in Śikshānanda and the Sanskrit on "Momentariness" (*kṣaṇika*), Nirvana, etc., is divided in Bodhiruci into four sub-chapters with the headings: "Buddhatā," "Pañcadharma," "Gangānanda," and "Kṣaṇika." Each of these consists normally of one prose section and one verse, showing that one topic of thought occupies one sub-chapter. Taking all in all, the chapter-divisions of the *Lankāvatāra* in whatever version are, to say the least, arbitrary and of later elaboration.

A good practical way of reading the sutra without displacing the contents from their original setting will be to

¹ This is practically a repetition of (7).

isolate in most cases one prose part with its metric repetition from another such part; and this will naturally cut up the text into many short independent sections.¹ There are some prose paragraphs without any corresponding gāthā-section, for instance, in the earlier part of Guṇabhadra and in the second chapter of the other versions. Guṇabhadra, when thus treated, will yield a little over fifty separate, individual chapters. The impression one gets after perusing the sutra carefully is that such independent statements dealing with the principal ideas of Mahayana Buddhism at the time when the sutra was compiled, were notes taken down by the author without any intention of arranging them in order. As was the case with the Pali Nikāyas, each of these independent paragraphs was perhaps a complete sutra in itself. Later, perhaps when there was a need for editing them under a title, they came to be known as the *Lankāvatāra*, or the *Buddhapravacanahṛidaya*. So long as we do not know how the Mahayana sutras were produced, all that we can say about their compilation has the nature of conjecture.

Were the sutras compiled one after another in time succession? Did one presuppose the existence of another, so that we can definitely trace the development of ideas backed by such documents? Or did they develop in different localities each one without knowing another? Is it possible as a matter of historical fact to arrange the Mahayana sutras in time sequence? Does logical development always coincide with historical events? That is to say, are fact and syllogism one? Does the one always and by nature precede, or follow the other? Until these questions are historically solved there will be many problems unsolved in connection with the making up of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*.

That the first introductory chapter in which Rāvaṇa

¹ Kumārajīva divides his Chinese translation of the *Diamond Sutra* into thirty-two sections, each of which consists of an irregular number of lines, sometimes of two or three lines only. This is quite a rational way of reading the sutra. Perhaps Kokwan Shiren followed Kumārajīva in his treatment of the *Lankāvatāra*.

invites the Buddha to Lankā to discourse on the truth inwardly realised by him, is a later addition, is also shown in the relation between the prose part and the verse. In this chapter, there is no such relation whatever between the two portions as is to be found in other parts of the sutra, that is, there is here no verse part that corresponds and repeats the sense of the prose: the whole chapter is one complete piece, there is nothing fragmentary about it, it is altogether different in tone and style from the other parts of the sutra, the way the theme is developed and the style of the writing are quite distinct. In this respect, the chapter on meat-eating resembles this introductory one, although it has the verse part in correspondence with the prose. The meat-eating chapter may be a later addition, also, in spite of its being found in Guṇabhadra. It does not seem to fit in perfectly with the main part of the sutra. Did the author of the *Lankāvatāra* just put it in at the end as a kind of appendix, not standing in any organic relationship with the sutra proper, where highly metaphysical subjects are treated? And later did it accidentally get incorporated into the body of the sutra as forming a part of it?

Now we come to consider the last chapter, entitled, "Sagāthakam," which occupies a special position in the structure of the *Lankāvatāra*. As the title indicates, it is composed entirely of gāthās. In the Sanskrit there are 884 couplets¹ taking up about one fourth of the whole text. Of these over 200 are found in the main text itself; therefore, about 680 gāthās are newly-added ones. In Śikshānanda these repetitions are systematically excluded from its gāthā chapter, while in Bodhiruci everything is thrown in and with something more. There are 890 quatrains in Bodhiruci and 656 in Śikshānanda, showing the relative amount of ślokas in each, as four Chinese lines are generally equivalent to one Sanskrit śloka.

As for the contents and their arrangement there is utter

¹ The number includes occasional triplets.

chaos in the "Sagāthakam." No doubt they chiefly concern the same themes as treated in the main text, but there are some original theses, and it is often hard to see why and how they came to be thrown in here. To read the "Sagāthakam" properly, therefore, it must be cut up into so many small portions, sometimes taking just one solitary śloka as expressing a complete idea, i.e., as a sort of aphorism. When this cutting-up process is brought to an end, we see that the "Sagāthakam," which appears on the surface as one solid chain of gāthās, is nothing but a heap of rubbish and gems.

How did this conglomeration come to be affixed to the *Lankāvatāra*? Why do we find so many gāthās taken from the sutra proper and mixed up with the rest? And the way they are mixed is most strange, seeing that while some are taken in bodily just as they are found in the sutra itself, others are broken up and interspersed fantastically among the rest. Was this done intentionally? Or did it happen just so? Does the "Sagāthakam" suggest an earlier origin than the sutra, in which the gāthā part was later elaborated in the prose in the way of commentary? But there is some reason to suppose that the "Sagāthakam" as a whole and in detail is later than the sutra proper, partly because it contains some historical matter which has no place in it, but chiefly because the thought expressed here seems to be more definite and developed than that in the body of the sutra. Taking all in all, the relation between the "Sagāthakam" and the rest of the sutra is a mystery so long as we have as yet reached no sure ground in the historical study of Mahayana literature in India. This much we may say that the "Sagāthakam" can easily be made into an independent text expounding the principal truths of the Mahayana philosophy. It reminds one of a notebook in which a student of the Mahayana took down some of the more important ideas as he learned them orally from his master, and in which at the same time he also put some other matter for his own benefit, though not necessarily in close relation-

ship with the main contents of the notebook. In this respect the "Sagāthakam" shares the characteristics of the sutra as a whole. It may be noticed that Śikshānanda calls this part of the text the "Chapter of Gāthās" and Bodhiruci simply "General Chapter" (總品), while the Sanskrit edition is prefaced, "Listen to the jewel-made Gāthās preached in the Lankāvatāra-Sūtra, and free from the net of the [erroneous] views, [and containing] the wonderful Mahayana teaching," and concludes with this: "Thus is completed the Sagāthakam, the Mahayana-sutra called 'Lankāvatāra, the noble and orthodox Dharma.' "

Incidentally, reference may be made to certain lines in the "Sagāthakam," which are often quoted by followers of Shin Buddhism as teaching Amitābha's Land of Bliss. The lines are as follows:

"The matured (*vaipākika*) Buddhas, and manifested (*nairmāṇika*) Buddhas, and beings, and Bodhisattvas, and [their] lands—they are in the ten quarters (G. 140).

"The flowing (*nisyanda*) Buddhas, the reality (*dharma*) Buddhas, the transformed (*nirmāṇa*) Buddhas, and the manifested ones (*nairmāṇika*)—they all issue from Amitābha's Land of Happiness (G. 141)."

Further: "My vehicle of self-realisation is beyond the attainment of the philosophers." [Asked Mahāmāti,] 'Pray tell me, after the passing of the Teacher, who would keep this up?'

"After the time when Sugata is passed away and no more, O Mahāmāti, know that there will be one who should hold up the eye [of the Dharma].

"In the southern part of this country called Vedali there would be a Bhikshu of great and excellent reputation known as Nāgāhvaya, who would destroy the onesided view of being and non-being.

"He would, while in the world, make manifest the unsurpassable Mahayana, and attaining the Stage of Joy, pass to the Land of Happiness.' " (G. 163–G. 166.)

In the Sanskrit text we have, instead of Nāgārjuna, Nāgāhvaya, and of course we do not know whether they are one person, or whether there is a mistake on the part of the scribe. From these passages alone it is difficult to infer anything historical concerning the age of the *Lankāvatāra* as a whole, and also its possible relation to the doctrine of Amitābha's Land of Bliss (*sukhāvatī*).

In short, the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* may be divided as regards its textual construction into the following six specifically definable parts:

1. The Rāvana chapter;
2. The section devoted to the enumeration of the so-called 108 questions and 108 terms;
3. The prose section in which no verses are found;
4. The prose-and-verse section, which may be subdivided:
 - a. The part devoted to a discourse carried on principally in verse, for instance, paragraphs on the system of Vijñānas;
 - b. The part containing ideas fully developed both in prose and verse, for example, meat-eating chapter;
 - c. The part containing ideas fully discussed in prose and supposedly recapitulated in verse, as in the greater parts of the text;
5. The Dhāraṇi section;
6. The Sagāthakam.

III. EXAMPLES OF THE TEXTUAL DIFFERENCES¹⁰

This is not the place to dwell extensively on the textual differences between the various versions of the *Lankāvatāra*, for to do so would involve many questions which properly do not fall into an introductory part such as we intend this article on the sutra to be. No doubt a detailed comparison of the different translations with the Sanskrit text, as well

as with each other, will be instructive from the point of view of text-criticism and also from that of the history of Chinese Buddhist literature as translations. But as the writer wants to limit his attention chiefly to the inner significance of the sutra as an exposition of Zen Buddhism, and also as a most valuable text of the Mahayana, let us be content with the following extracts from the three Chinese translations and the Sanskrit text. A comparison of these extracts,¹ which may be considered as characteristic of each text, though they have been selected somewhat at random, will throw much light on the nature of the respective literatures. I have tried to give a literal English translation of the Chinese as far as it could be made readable.

¹ Sung—the Kōkyōshoin Edition of 1885, 黄六, 二十六丁 a; Wei—六十三丁 a; T'ang—百八丁 b; Sanskrit Nanjo edition, pp. 228–229.

| SUNG | WEI |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Further, O Mahāmati, the five categories (<i>dharma</i>) are: Appearance, Name, Discrimination,¹ Suchness, and Right Knowledge. 2. O Mahāmati, Appearance is such as is manifested in places, forms, colours, figures, etc.,—this is called Appearance. 3. As when having such and such appearances, [things] are called a jar, etc., and by no other designation,—this is known as Name. 4. Mind and what belongs to mind, whereby various names are set up and all kinds of appearances are brought out into view, such as a jar, etc.,—this is called Discrimination. 5. That Name, that Appearance—they are ultimately unattainable; [when] there is no intelligence from beginning to end, [when] there is no mutual conditioning in all things, and [when] Discrimination which is not real is put away,—this is known as Suchness. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Further, O Mahāmati, the five categories are: Appearance, Name, Discrimination, Suchness, and Right Knowledge. 2. O Mahāmati, what is Appearance? Appearance is what is seen in colours, forms, figures, which are distinctive and not alike,—this is called Appearance. 3. O Mahāmati, depending upon this appearing of things, there arises discrimination, saying that "this is a jar", "this is a horse, a cow, a sheep, etc.," that "this is such and such", "this is no other thing"—this, O Mahāmati, is called Name. 4. O Mahāmati, depending upon these objects thus named, their characteristics are distinguished and made manifest, whereby such various names are set up as cow, sheep, horse, etc. This is called the Discriminating of mind and objects belonging to mind. 5. O Mahāmati, when one surveys names and appearances even down to atoms, one never sees a single reality, all things are unreal; for they are due to the discriminations stirred up in one's deceiving mind. |

¹ For *Vikalpa*, Sung has 妄想, and not 分別 as in Wei and T'ang.

| T'ANG | SANSKRIT |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Further, O Mahāmati, the five categories (<i>dharma</i>) are: Appearance, Name, Discrimination, Suchness, and Right Knowledge. 2. Of these, by Appearance is meant that which we see,—each differs in colour, form, figure, etc. This is known as Appearance. 3. Depending on these Appearances, names such as jars, etc., are set up, saying, “this is such and such”, “this is no other”,—this is known as Name. 4. By mind and what belongs to mind, various names are set up, all kinds of appearances are brought out into view,—this is known as Discrimination. 5. That Name, that Appearance [—they are all] ultimately non-existent: they are only due to the discrimination by a perturbed mind of [things] mutually [related]. When one thus surveys the world until the disappearance of intelligence takes place, one has what is known as Suchness. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Further, O Mahāmati, the five categories (<i>dharma</i>) are: Appearance (<i>nimitta</i>), Name (<i>nāma</i>), Discrimination (<i>vikalpa</i>), Suchness (<i>tathatā</i>), and Right Knowledge (<i>saṃyagjñāna</i>). 2. Then, O Mahāmati, by Appearance is meant that which is known as form, shape, distinctive figure, image, mark, etc. They are seen as Appearance. 3. From this Appearance, ideas are formed such as a jar, etc., saying, ‘This is it’, ‘This is no other’,—this is Name. 4. O Mahāmati, what is known as mind or as belonging to mind, whereby a name is pronounced as indicating appearance, or objects of like nature [are recognised]—that is Discrimination. 5. That Name and Appearance are ultimately unattainable [as realities] when intelligence¹ is put away, and that these things are not recognised and discriminated in their aspect of mutuality,—this is Suchness. |

¹ *Buddhi* in this case is to be understood as “*vikalpa-lakṣaṇa-grāhābhiveśa-pratishṭhāpikā*” as is distinguished on p. 122.

| SUNG (continued) | WEI (continued) |
|---|---|
| <p>6. Reality, exactness, ultimate end, self-nature, the unattainable,—these are the characteristics of Suchness.</p> <p>7. This is what I and other Buddhas have conformed to and entered into; we universally, for the sake of sentient beings, preach this according to the truth; [by us] this is set up and brought out into their view.</p> <p>8. When one conformably enters into right realisation which is neither discontinued nor permanent, no Discrimination arises, and one is in conformity with the noble path of self-realisation, which is not the state attained by all the philosophers, Śrāvakas, and Pratyekabuddhas,—this is known as Right Knowledge.</p> <p>9. O Mahāmati, these are called the five Dharmas (categories); the threefold Svabhāva, eight Vijñānas, twofold Nairātmya, and all the Buddha-teachings are included therein.</p> <p>10. Therefore, O Mahāmati, you should discipline yourself in your own way and also teach others, but do not follow others.</p> | <p>6. O Mahāmati, what is known as Suchness is non-emptiness, exactness, ultimate end, self-nature, self-substance, right seeing,—these are the characteristics of Suchness.</p> <p>7. By myself and the Bodhisattvas and [other] Buddhas who are Tathagatas, Arhats, and All-knowing Ones, it is said that though names differ the sense is one.</p> <p>8. O Mahāmati, these are in conformity with Right Knowledge, neither discontinuing nor permanent and without discrimination; and where discrimination does not prevail one is conformed to the superior wisdom that is realised within one's inmost self. This is different from the false views entertained by all philosophers, Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, and from the incorrect views held by the partisans.</p> <p>9. O Mahāmati, in the five Dharmas (categories), the three Dharmalakṣaṇas, the eight Vijñānas, the two Nairātmyas, all the Buddha-teachings are included in the five Dharmas.¹</p> <p>10. Mahāmati, you and other Bodhisattvamahāsattvas should discipline yourselves in order to seek this excellent knowledge. O Mahāmati, you know the five Dharmas when you</p> |

¹ Strangely, this is repeated.

| T' ANG (continued) | SANSKRIT (continued) |
|--|---|
| 6. O Mahāmati, reality, exactness, ultimate end, source, self-nature, the [un-]attainable,—these are the characteristics of Suchness. | 6. Suchness may be characterised as truth, reality, exact knowledge, limit, source, self-substance, the unattainable. |
| 7. This has been conformed to and realised by myself and all [other] Buddhas and is disclosed as it really is and preached by us. | 7. This has been realised by myself and other Tathagatas, truthfully pointed out, recognised, made public and widely shown. |
| 8. If one in conformity with this has an insight [into the nature of it] as neither discontinuous nor permanent, no discrimination is stirred, and one enters upon a state of self-realisation which goes beyond the realm obtained by the philosophers and the two yānas. This is known as Right Knowledge. | 8. When one, realising this, rightfully understands it, neither as discontinuous nor permanent, he becomes free from discrimination, conforming himself to the superior wisdom in his inmost consciousness, which is a state other than that attained by the philosophers and is not the attainment of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas. This is Right Knowledge. |
| 9. O Mahāmati, in these five Dharmas (categories), the three Svabhāvas, the eight Vijñānas, and the two Nairātmyas, all the Buddha-teachings are wholly included. | 9. O Mahāmati, these are the five Dharmas (categories), and in these are included the three Svabhāvas, the eight Vijñānas, the two Nairātmyas, and all the Buddha-teachings. |
| 10. O Mahāmati, with these categories you should by your own wisdom be skilfully conversant and also make others conversant therewith. Becoming conversant therewith, the mind is confirmed and is not led away by another. | 10. Then, O Mahāmati, reflect well in this by yourself and let others do [the same], and do not allow yourself to be led by another. |

| SUNG (continued) | WEI (continued) |
|--|---|
| <p>11. Then, wishing to reiterate this sense the World-honoured One preached the following gāthā: The five Dharmas, the three Svabhāvas, And the eight Vijñānas, The twofold Nairātmya,— They include all the Mahayana. Name, Appearance, Discrimination,— [These belong to] the twofold aspect of Svabhāva; Right Knowledge and Suchness,— They constitute the Perfection aspect.</p> | <p>are not led by other teachings. 11. Then the Blessed One repeated this in the gāthā: The five Dharmas, the Svabhāvas. And the eight Vijñānas, The twofold Nairātmya:— They include all the Mahayana. Name, Appearance, and Discrimination— These three Dharmas are aspects of the Svabhāva; Right Knowledge and Suchness— These are aspects of the First Principle.</p> |
| <p>SUNG TEXT IN THE ORIGINAL CHINESE</p> | <p>WEI TEXT IN THE ORIGINAL CHINESE</p> |
| <p>1. 復次大慧 五法者 相 名 妄想 如 如 正智。 2. 大慧 相者 若處所 形相 色像等 現 是名為相。 3. 若彼有如是相 名為瓶等 即此非 餘 是說為名。 4. 施設衆名 顯示諸相 瓶等心心法 是名妄想。 5. 彼名彼相 畢竟不可得 始終無覺 於諸法無展轉 離不實妄想 是名 如如。</p> | <p>1. 復次大慧 五法 相 名 分別 眞如 正智。 2. 大慧 何者名為相 相者 色 形相 狀貌 勝不如 是名為相。 3. 大慧 依彼法相 起分別相 此是瓶 此是牛 馬 羊等 此法如是 如是不異 大慧是名為名。 4. 大慧依於彼法立名了別示現彼相 是故立彼 種種名字 牛羊馬等 是名分別心心數法。 5. 大慧 觀察名相乃至微塵 常不見 一法相 諸法不實 以虛妄心生分別故。</p> |

| T'ANG (continued) | SANSKRIT (continued) |
|--|---|
| 11. Then the Blessed One repeated this in the gāthā: | 11. So this is said: |
| <p>The five Dharmaś, the three Svabhāvas, And the eight Vijñānas, The twofold Nairātmya,— [They] wholly include the Mahayana. Name, Appearance, and Discrimination, Are included in the two Svabhāvas; Right Knowledge and Suchness,— They are Perfect Knowledge (<i>pariṇishpannalakṣhaṇa</i>).</p> | <p>The five Dharmaś and the Svabhāvas, And the eight Vijñānas, The two Nairātmyas,— They comprise the whole Mahayana. Name, Appearance, Discrimination:— These are two aspects of Svabhāva; Right Knowledge and Suchness:— These are aspects of Perfect Knowledge (<i>pariṇishpanna</i>).</p> |
| T'ANG TEXT IN THE ORIGINAL CHINESE | THE ORIGINAL TEXT IN SANSKRIT |
| <p>1. 復次 大慧 五法者 所謂相 名 分別 如如 正智。 2. 此中相者 所謂見色等形狀各別 是名為相。 3. 依彼諸相立瓶等名 此如是 此不異 是名為名。 4. 施設衆名 顯示諸相 心心所法 是名分別。 5. 彼名彼相畢竟無有 但是妄心展轉分別 如是觀察乃至覺滅 是名如如。</p> | <p>1. punaraparaṃ mahāmate pañcadharmo nimittaṃ nāma vikalpas tathatā samyagjñānaṃ ca. 2. tatra mahāmate nimittaṃ yat saṃsthānākṛti - viśeṣhākāra - rūpādi-lakṣhaṇaṃ dṛśyate tan nimittam. 3. yat tasmin nimitte ghaṭādi saṃjñākṛitakam evam idaṃ nānyatheti tan nāma. 4. yena tan nāma samudīrayati nimittābhivyañjakaṃ samadharmaṃ eti vā sa mahāmate citta-caitta-saṃśabdito vikalpaḥ. 5. yan nāma-nimittayor-atyan-tānupalabdhitā buddhi-pralayaḥ anyonyānanubhūtāparikalpitavād eśhāṃ dharmānāṃ tathateti.</p> |

| SUNG (continued) | WEI (continued) |
|---|---|
| 6. 眞實 決定 究竟 自性 不可得 彼是如相。 | 6. 大慧 言眞如者 名爲不虛 決定畢竟盡 自性 自體 正見 眞如相。 |
| 7. 我及諸佛 隨順入處 普爲衆生 如實演說 施設顯示於彼。 | 7. 我 及諸菩薩 及諸佛如來 應正遍知 說名異義一。 |
| 8. 隨入正覺 不斷不常 妄想不起 隨順自覺聖趣 一切外道 聲聞 緣覺 所不得相 是名正智。 | 8. 大慧 如是等隨順 正智 不斷不常 無分別 分別不行處 隨順自身內證聖智 離諸一切外道 聲聞 辟支佛等惡見 明黨不正智中。 |
| 9. 大慧是名五法 三種自性 八識 二種無我 一切佛法悉入其中。 | 9. 大慧 於五法 三法相 八種識 二種無我 一切佛法皆入五法中。 |
| 10. 是故大慧 當自方便學 亦教他人 勿隨於他。 | 10. 大慧 汝及諸菩薩 摩訶薩 爲求勝智 應當修學 大慧 汝知五法 不隨他教故。 |
| 11. 爾時世尊欲重宣此義 而說偈而言 五法三自性。 及與八種識。 二種無有我。 悉攝摩訶衍。 | 11. 爾時世尊重說偈言 五法自體相。 及與八種識。 二種無我法。 攝取諸大乘。 |
| 名相虛妄想。 自性二種相。 正智及如如。 是則爲成相。 | 名相及分別。 三法自體相。 正智及眞如。 是第一義相。 |

| T' ANG (continued) | SANSKRIT (continued) |
|--|---|
| 6. 大慧 眞實 決定 究竟 根本 自性 (不)可得 是如如相。 | 6. tattvaṁ bhūtaṁ niścayo niṣṭhā prakṛtiḥ svabhāvo 'nupalabdhiḥ tat tathālak- ṣaṇam. |
| 7. 我及諸佛 隨順證入 如其實相開 示演說。 | 7. mayānyaiśca tathāgatair anu- gamyā yathāvad deśitam prajñaptam vivṛitam uttāni- kṛitam. |
| 8. 若能於此隨順悟解 離斷離常 不 生分別 入自證處 出於外道二乘 境界 是名正智。 | 8. yatrānugamyā samyagavabo- dhānucchedāsāśvatato vikal- pasyāpravṛittiḥ svapratyāt- māryajñānānukūlaṁ tīrtha- kara-pakṣa-parapakṣa-śrā- vaka-pratyekabuddhāgatilakṣ- haṇam tat samyagjñānam. |
| 9. 大慧 此五種法 三性 八識 及二 無我 一切佛法普皆攝盡。 | 9. ete ca mahāmate pañcadhar- māḥ, eśeśveva trayāḥ sva- bhāvā aṣṭau ca vijñānāni dve ca nairātmye sarvabuddha- dharmās cāntargatāḥ. |
| 10. 大慧 於此法中 汝應以自智善巧 通達 亦勸他人令其通達 通達此 已 心則決定 不隨他轉。 | 10. atra te mahāmate svamati- kauśalaṁ karaṇīyam anyaiś ca kārayitavyam na para- prañeyena bhavitavyam. |
| 11. 爾時世尊重說頌言 五法三自法。 及與八種識。 二種無我法。 普歸於大乘。 | 11. tatredam ucyate: pañcadharmāḥ svabhāvaśca vijñānānyashṭa eva ca, dve nairātmye bhavet kṛtsno mahāyāna-parigrahaḥ. |
| 名相及分別。 二種自性攝。 正智與如如。 名則圓成相。 | nāma-nimitta-saṁkalpāḥ svabhāva-dvaya-lakṣhaṇam, samyagjñānaṁ tathātvaṁ ca pariṇiṣhnanna-lakṣhaṇam. |

A comparison of these four texts will give us some insight into the nature of each version; the variations are not necessarily due to the translators' individualism; they must have existed already in the original texts. Let me give another parallelism, this time one in verse. The extracts are from Chapter II, the opening gāthās of Mahāmati. The comparison will be only between the T'ang and the Sanskrit, as the Wei more or less agrees with the Sanskrit, while the Sung agrees with the T'ang, though the Sung as well as the Wei lack two verses corresponding to (4) and (5) of the Sanskrit. The most significant disagreement between T'ang and Sanskrit concerns "the awakening of a great compassionate heart." According to the Mahayanists, a heart is to be awakened in one that is above all forms of attachment and yet that feels suffering in the world as its own. In Sung and T'ang this idea is emphatically presented, whereas in Wei and Sanskrit it is missing. From this, can we not infer that there were at least two quite different texts of the *Lankāvatāra* from the early days of its existence as far as these gāthās are concerned? I do not know how the present Sanskrit text could be made to read like Sung and T'ang. The philosophy of the *Lankāvatāra* asserts the emptiness or the not-being-born of existence, and it is quite right to say that the world is like a dream or transcends birth-and-death, but we must remember that this position is not one of absolute nihilism, because the sutra teaches the reality of Prajñā itself or the truth of mind-only (*cittamātra*). So far the Sanskrit gāthās here reproduced accord well with the principal ideas of the *Lankāvatāra*, but there is another element in the Mahayana, which is love or compassion, and when the world is surveyed from this viewpoint, it is filled with sufferings, sorrows, and undesirable events. These are also in a way dreamy happenings, but compassion sees them in another light and strives to eradicate them by all sorts of "skilful means." For this reason, Sung and T'ang are preferable here to Wei and Sanskrit.

| T'ANG ¹ | SANSKRIT ² |
|---|--|
| <p>1. The world transcends birth and death, it is like the flower in the air; [transcendental] knowledge cannot be qualified as being or non-being, and yet a great compassionate heart is awakened.</p> <p>2. All things are like the mirage, they are beyond the reach of mind and understanding; [transcendental] knowledge cannot be qualified as being and non-being, and yet a great compassionate heart is awakened.</p> <p>3. The world is always like a dream. It is beyond nihilism and eternalism. [Transcendental] knowledge cannot be qualified as being or non-being, and yet a great compassionate heart is awakened.</p> <p>4. The wise know that there is no self-substance in a person, nor in an object, and that both passions and their objectives are always pure [in their nature] and have no individual marks; and yet a great compassionate heart is awakened in them.</p> <p>5. The Buddha does not abide in Nirvana, nor does Nirvana in the Buddha; it goes beyond</p> | <p>1. When thou reviewest the world with thy wisdom and compassion, it is to thee like the ethereal flower, and of which we cannot say whether it is created or vanishing, as [the categories of] being and non-being are inapplicable to it.</p> <p>2. When thou reviewest all things with thy wisdom and compassion, they are like visions, they are beyond the reach of mind and consciousness, as [the categories of] being and non-being are inapplicable to them.</p> <p>3. When thou reviewest the world with thy wisdom and compassion, it is eternally like a dream, of which we cannot say whether it is permanent or it is subject to destruction, as [the categories of] being and non-being are inapplicable to it.</p> <p>4. The Dharmakāya whose self-nature is a vision and a dream, what is there to praise? Real existence is where rises no thought of nature and no-nature.</p> <p>5. He whose appearance is beyond the senses and sense-objects and is not to be seen</p> |

¹ This partly appeared in my previous article on "The Lankavatāra as a text of Zen Buddhism", *The Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. IV. Nos. 3-4 (1928), p. 288. The translation was made from the Sung, but it mostly agrees with the T'ang as is observable here.

² The verses are quoted in my *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, pp. 76-77.

| T'ANG (continued) | SANSKRIT (continued) |
|--|---|
| enlightenment and the enlightened, also being and non-being. | by them or in them; how could praise or blame be predicated of him, O Muni? |
| 6. The Dharmakāya is like a vision, like a dream, and how could it be praised? When one realises that it has no substance, it is birth-less, this is called praising the Buddha. | 6. With thy wisdom and compassion, thou comprehendest the egoless nature of things and persons and art eternally clean of the evil passions and of the hindrance of knowledge because they both are without signs [of individuality]. |
| 7. The Buddha has no marks belonging to the senses and sense-objects. Not to see is to see the Buddha. How could there be praising and blaming in the Muni? | 7. Thou dost not vanish in Nirvana, nor does Nirvana abide in thee; for it transcends the dualism of the enlightened and enlightenment as well as the alternatives of being and non-being. |
| 8. When one sees the Muni so tranquil and detached from birth [-and-death], this one not only in this life but after is free from attachments, has nothing to grasp. | 8. Those who see the Muni so serene and beyond birth, are detached from cravings and remain stainless in this life and after. |
| 1. 世間離生滅 譬如虛空華 智不得有無 而興大悲心 | 1. utpāda-bhaṅga-rahito lokāḥ khaṇushpa-saṁnibhaḥ, sad- asan-nopalabdhas te prajñayā kripayā ca te. |
| 2. 一切法如幻 遠離於心識 智不得有無 而興大悲心 | 2. māyopamāḥ sarvadharmāḥ cittavijñāna-varjitāḥ, sad- asan-nopalabdhas te prajñayā kripayā ca te. |
| 3. 世間恒如夢 遠離於斷常 智不得有無 而興大悲心 | 3. śāśvatoccheda-varjatas ca lo- kāḥ svapnopamāḥ sadā, sad- asan-nopalabdhas te prajñayā kripayā ca te. |
| 4. 知人法無我 煩惱及爾焰 常清淨無相 而興大悲心 | 4. māyā - svapna - svabhāvasya dharmakāyasya kaḥ stavah, bhāvānām niḥsvabhāvānām yo 'nutpādaḥ sa saṁbhavaḥ. |
| 5. 佛不住涅槃 涅槃不住佛 遠離覺所覺 若有若非有 | 5. indriyārtha-visamyuktam ad- rīṣyaṁ yasya darśanam, pra- śamsā yadi vā nindā tasyo- |

| T' ANG (continued) | SANSKRIT (continued) |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 6. 法身如幻夢 云何可稱讚 知無性無生 乃名稱讚佛 | cyeta katham mune. 6. dharma-puṭgala-nairātmyam kleśa-jñeyam ca te sadā, viśuddhamānimittena prajñā- yā kṛipayā ca te. |
| 7. 佛無限境相 不見名見佛 云何於牟尼 而能有毀讚 | 7. na nirvāsi nirvāṇe na nirvā- ṇam tvayi samsthitam, bud- dha-boddhavya-rahitaṁ sad- asat-pakṣa-varjitam. |
| 8. 若見於牟尼 寂靜遠離生 是人今後世 離著無所取 | 8. ye paśyanti munim śāntam evam utpatti-varjitam, te bhonti nirupādānā ihāmutra nirāñjanāḥ. ¹ |

IV. A FURTHER EXAMINATION OF THE SUTRA AS TO ITS INNER CONNECTIONS

Having finished what I wished to remark, though sketchily, about those chapters which are wanting in Guṇabhadra, and which, therefore, can logically be judged as later additions, I proceed to make some general statements about the sutra as to its form and contents and their inner connections.

The text takes throughout a form of dialogue between the Buddha and the Bodhisattva Mahāmāti. No other Bodhisattvas or Arhats appear on the scene, though the dialogue is supposed to take place in an assembly of the Bhikshus and Bodhisattvas as in other sutras. Guṇabhadra fixes the scene of the sutra at the summit of Mt. Lankā in the Southern Sea, but in it there is no mention whatever of Rāvaṇa, who,

¹ This series of gāthās reappears in the "Sagāthakam," gg. 1-6, except the gāthās 4 and 5 which are missing in the "Sagāthakam"; and the order in the latter runs thus: 1, 3, 2, 6, 7, 8. The variations are: "viśuddham-animittena...." for "viśuddhamānimittena...." (6); "na nirvāsi nirvāṇe na nirvāṇam...." for "na nirvāsi nirvāṇena nirvāṇam...." (7); "te bhavantyanupādānā...." for "te bhonti nirupādānā...." (8).

in Bodhiruci and Śikshānanda, plays an important rôle, though in the first chapter only, as the initiator of the discourses that follow.

Mahāmāti opens the dialogue by praising the virtues of the Buddha, whose wisdom sees that the world is a shadow but whose love embraces all suffering beings; Mahāmāti then proceeds to ask the World-honoured One about one hundred and eight subjects (*aṣṭōttaram praśnaśatam*). The Buddha answers: "Let sons¹ of the Victorious One ask me, and, O Mahāmāti, you too ask, and I will talk to you about my inner realisation (*pratyātmagatigocara*)".

Now we ask, "What is the relation between the Buddha's inner realisation and Mahāmāti's 108 questions, about which he wishes to be enlightened? Are all these subjects concerned with the realisation itself?" There must be some connection between the Buddha's replies and Mahāmāti's questions. If not, they are certainly talking about things of no concern to each other.

Let us see, however, what questions issue from the lips of Mahāmāti now and what are the subjects he is interested in. The questions are set forth in gāthās 12-59 inclusive, in Chapter II of the Sanskrit text. But what a conglomeration! Some of them are, indeed, quite to the point as they refer, for instance, to the origin of intellection (*tarka*) and mental confusion (*bhrānti*), and to their purification, emancipation, Dhyāna, Ālaya-vijñāna, Manovijñāna, Cittamātra, Non-ego, relative truth, phenomenality of existence, truth of suchness, the supreme wisdom (*āryajñāna*), Buddha of Transformation, Buddha of Recompense, absolute Buddhahood, enlightenment, etc. But at the same time there are questions concerning medicine, certain mythical gardens, mountains, woods, the capturing of elephants, horses, deer, the gathering of clouds in the sky, rules of prosody, the six seasons of the year, racial origins, etc. These do not seem to be properly asked of the Buddha, who is not a college

¹ *Jinaputra*, that is, Bodhisattva.

professor, or rather a primary school teacher, but the master of spiritual enlightenment. Why are the contents of the 108 questions of such a mixed character?

What is more astounding are the answers—that is, answers that are supposed to enlighten the questioner—given by the Buddha. The gāthās 61–96 (inclusive) are the words of the Buddha, who is the wisest man in the world and who is willing to disclose all the secrets of the Mahayana teaching that have been taught by all the Buddhas. He states in the beginning:

“Birth, no-birth, Nirvana, emptiness-aspect, transformation,—[all these are] without self-nature (*asvabhāvatva*); the Buddhas born of Pāramitā;

“Śrāvakas, sons of the Victorious One, philosophers, formless deeds (*arūpyacāriṇa*); Mt. Sumeru, the great ocean, mountains, isles, lands, earths;

“Stars, the sun, the moon; philosophers, deities, and also Asura; emancipation, Self-control, the Psychic Faculties, the Powers, Dhyānas, Samādhis,

“Nirodha and the miracles, the Bodhyaṅgas, and even the Paths; Dhyānas and Apramānas, Skandhas, and going and coming;

“Samāpatti and Nirodhas,—for they are mind-made, only words. The mind, will, intelligence, non-ego, the five Dharmas—[so are they too].”¹

So far, the answer, whatever be its exact purport, is more or less cogent to the main ideas of the *Lankāvatāra*; but what follows is strange not only from the doctrinal point of view but from literary construction. They are often not answers but questions, some of which are mere repetitions of the questions themselves. For instance, the Buddha is made to answer the 108 questions in this way:

¹ How far this is a correct rendering of the gāthās (62–66, pp. 29–30) is rather difficult to say; for the original merely enumerates all these items, sometimes repeating, and the grammatical relation between them is not to be definitely settled.

“How are the elephant, horse, and deer caught? You tell me. How is the conclusion (*siddhānta*) drawn from the combination of cause (*hetu*) and illustration (*dṛiṣṭānta*)? (g. 69.)

“What is meant by doing and being done? by various forms of mental confusion and the truth? They are both of mind-only and are not visible, that is, not objective (*dṛiṣya*). There is no gradation of the stages (70).

“What is the turning of the imageless?¹ Tell me, what about books, the medical sciences, artistic skill, the arts?” (71).

A glance is sufficient to see what kind of an answer this is. Questions and answers are curiously mixed up, and trifles and grave matters, too. The gāthās go on more or less like this until the Buddha concludes thus:

“O Son, thou askest me suchlike and many other questions. Each is in agreement with the [right] form, having nothing to do with erroneous views. I will tell thee right here the perfect doctrine. Listen to me! According to the teaching of the Buddhas I will make a declaration in complete sentences of 108 clauses (*padam*). O Son, listen thou to me.” (gāthās 97–98.)

With what [right] form are the questions proposed by Mahāmāti supposed to be in conformation? From what erroneous views are they to be regarded as free? Whatever we may say about them, one thing is sure that all these questions and answers are incoherently strung together, and we fail to find any logical interpretation to the whole body of the gāthās making up the first part of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*.

Is some historical background needed to get a clue to the solution? Another source of confusion is discovered when we go on with Buddha’s so-called 108 clauses, which

¹ Here is inserted the word “one hundred (*śatam*)” in all the texts except *Sikṣhānanda*. The insertion makes the confusion worse confounded.

are enumerated soon after. Evidently these clauses have nothing to do with the questions, although the number, which seems to be a favorite one, at least with the Buddhists, is substantially the same. The 108 clauses preached by the Buddhas of the past are a string of negations, negating any notion that happened to come into the mind at the moment, apparently with no system, with no special philosophy in them. These negations are another example of the irrationality of the *Lankāvatāra*.

“At that time Mahāmati, the Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva, said to Buddha, ‘O thou Blessed One, what are these one hundred and eight clauses?’

“The Buddha said: ‘What is termed as birth, is not birth; what is termed as eternal, is not eternal; what is termed as form, is not form; what is termed as abiding, is not abiding.....’”

The negations go on like this concerning varieties of things not only religious and philosophical but of common experience. They comprise such terms as self-nature, mind, emptiness, cause and condition, passions, purity, master and disciple, racial distinctions, being and non-being, inner realisation, contentment with existence, water, number, clouds, wind, earth, Nirvana, dreams, mirage, heaven, food and drink, the Pāramitās, the heavenly bodies, medical science, industrial arts, Dhyānas, hermits, royalty, sex, taste, doing, measuring, seasons of the year, plants and vines, letters, etc. The number of terms, according to our calculation, seems to be a trifle less than 108, but this does not matter very much. What does matter is the subject-matter and the ultimate significance of the negations. Are all these negations from the point of view of absolute Śūnyatā philosophy? Why are the denials merely enumerated and no explanations given? Is it meant that these subjects are what engaged the attention of all the Buddhas of the past? But for what? Are they all important notions for the emancipation of sentient beings? Are they the subjects to

be treated in the body of the *Lankāvatāra*? If so, how is it that the eight Vijñānas, which occupy a position of chief interest in the sutra, are not at all mentioned here? In short, the presence of these so-called 108 questions (*praśna*) forming the first section of the *Lankāvatāra* proper, can safely be cut off as not essentially belonging to the teachings.

A similar problem must have been in the mind of Fa-tsang (法藏), one of the helpers in the translation of Śik-shānanda and a commentator of great importance, when he wrote the following in his 玄義 (*hsüan-i*):

“According to what I understand, the *Lankāvatāra* exists in three forms: the largest contains 100,00 ślokas, which, as is mentioned in the *Kaihuang Catalogue of the Tripitaka*, is preserved in the mountains of Nan-chê-chü-p'an (南遮俱犍國), of Yü-t'ien (于闐), not only of the *Lankāvatāra* but of ten other sutras, the largest of which consists of 100,000 ślokas each. The second large edition of the *Lankāvatāra* has 36,000 ślokas: of this mention is made in all the Sanskrit texts whose translations we have here. In this edition a chapter is devoted to answering in detail all the 108 questions: and Mi-t'o-shan (彌陀山), Master of the Tripitaka from T'u-buo-lo (吐火羅), is said to have personally studied the text while in India. It is also said that in the Western countries there is at present a commentary written by the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna on this 36,000 śloka text of the *Lankāvatāra*. The smallest, the third text, contains only a little over 1,000 ślokas, and is known as the *Lankāhṛīḍya*, which translated means, 'the substance of the Lankā'. The present text is that. Formerly, it was designated as 乾栗太心 (*ch'ien-li-t'ai* or *hṛīḍya-hsin*). The *Lankā* in four fasciculi is the one in which further abridgement was effected.”

The existence of the three kinds of the *Lankāvatāra* text may be mythical as is the case with other sutras, of which a tradition of similar nature is stated; but it is probable that the *Lankāvatāra* which we have at present in the three Chinese translations and in the Nanjo Sanskrit

edition is an abridgement of a larger and fuller text, that is, selections made from it by a Mahayana scholar who took them down in his notebook for his own use; and that in the larger text not only the 108 questions (*praśna*) but the 108 clauses (*pada*) are systematically answered and explained. In any event, something more than the present text of the *Lankāvatāra* is needed to understand it thoroughly and harmoniously.

The *Lankāvatāra* proper may be said to begin after the these "Questions" and "Clauses", each 108 in number; what follows here concerns the system of Vijñānas and their functions. But this paragraph does not last long, and after making some sketchy and not quite intelligible statements about the Vijñāna, it slides off into other subjects, such as seven kinds of self-nature or category (*bhāvasvabhāva*), seven kinds of truth (*paramārtha*), manifestations of self-mind, the problem of becoming, the world-conception and the religious life of certain Śramaṇas, who are evidently Buddhists, etc. When these subjects have received barely an outline treatment, the text returns to the Vijñāna, and after that a variety of subjects is discussed as is to be seen later when an index of the contents of the whole sutra is given, but always in reference to the attainment of the inner realisation. Though the sutra makes frequent detours away from the main subject, which is inevitable from the nature of the textual construction, it revolves around the truth that the whole system of Mahayana philosophy is based on such notions as Śūnyatā (emptiness), Anutpāda (being unborn), Anābhoga (effortless), Cittamātra (mind-only), etc., and that all these notions cannot be grasped and taken into one's life in their true perspective unless a spiritual insight is gained, when there issues transcendental knowledge and supreme enlightenment.

We can thus almost say that there are as many subjects treated in the *Lankāvatāra* as it can be cut up into so many separate paragraphs, each paragraph consisting sometimes

of a prose part and its corresponding verse, but sometimes in long or short prose part only, not accompanied by verse. The same subjects are sometimes repeated more or less fully. The Japanese commentator Kokwan Shiren (虎關師鍊),¹ who is also the author of a history of Japanese Buddhism known as the *Genko Shakusho* in thirty fasciculi (元亨釋書三十卷), divides the Guṇabhadra version of four fasciculi into eighty-six sections including the last chapter on "meat eating." This is the most rational way of reading the sutra, as in each of his sections only one subject is treated.

There is another thing which we must not let escape attention here. It is the refutation of the philosophies of other schools which were flourishing then in India. The Lokayata, Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, and other schools are cursorily reviewed as not in agreement with the Buddhist teaching, or as not to be confused with it.

V. THE LANKAVATARA AND BODHIDHARMA, THE FATHER OF ZEN BUDDHISM IN CHINA

That the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* is closely connected with Zen Buddhism in China has already been noted in the first volume of *Essays in Zen Buddhism* and also in my previous article on the sutra; I wish to present here a more detailed historical account of this relationship. According to Tao-hsüan's *Biographies of the High Priests* (道宣, 唐高僧傳), Bodhidharma (菩提達摩) handed his copy of the *Lankāvatāra* in four fasciculi to his first disciple, "Hui-k'ê (慧可), saying, "As I observe, there are no other sutras in China but this, you take it for your guidance, and you will naturally save the world." By the non-existence of "other

¹ The commentary called the *Butsugoshin Ron* (佛語心論) in eighteen fasciculi was completed in 1325. He was a most learned Zen scholar and died in 1346 when he was sixty-nine years old.

sutras," Bodhidharma evidently meant that there were at that time no sutras other than the *Lankāvatāra* in China, which would serve as a guide-book for the followers of Zen Buddhism. This idea will grow clearer as we come to Tao-yüan's *Records of the Transmission of the Lamp* (道原, 傳燈錄) in which the author states:

"The Master further said, 'I have the *Lankāvatāra* in four fasciculi, which is handed over to you, and in this is disclosed the essential teachings of the Tathagata concerning his mental ground. It will lead all sentient beings to spiritual opening and enlightenment. Since I came to this country, I was poisoned about five times and each time I took out this sutra and tried its miraculous power by putting it on a stone, which was split into pieces. I have come from Southern India to this Eastern land and have observed that in this country of China the people are pre-disposed to Mahayana Buddhism. That I have travelled far over seas and deserts is due to my desire to find proper persons to whom my doctrine may be transmitted. While there was as yet no good opportunity for this, I remained silent as if I were one who could not speak. Now that I have you, [this sutra] is given to you, and my wish is at last fulfilled.' "

According to this, it might seem that it was Bodhidharma himself who brought the *Lankāvatāra* to China; but Tao-hsüan and other records contradict it, and thus we have the following note right under the above statement in the *Transmission of the Lamp*, though the writer of the note is not known. "The following is taken from the report of *Pao-lin Chuan* (寶林傳): "Hsüan, the Vinaya Master, who is the author of the *Biographies of the High Priests*, says under the 'Life of K'ê, the Great Teacher', that in the beginning Bodhidharma took out the *Lankāvatāra* and handing it to K'ê said, 'As I observe that there are no other sutras in China but this, you take it for your guidance, and you will naturally save the world.' If this statement is correct, it

means that it was before the second Patriarch attained to the realisation of the truth that Bodhidharma handed the *Lankāvatāra* to him, telling him to go over it. But according to the *Transmission of the Lamp*, the sutra was evidently given to K'ê after the Law was entrusted to the hands of Hui-k'ê, together with the robe, Bodhidharma's further remark that he had the *Lankāvatāra* in four fasciculi which he would now give to Hui-k'ê, is probably quite correct. However, the remark that he had the sutra with him, sounds as if there never had been any *Lankāvatāra* before his coming to China. [This may not be quite exact.] The remark made later by Ma-tsu (馬祖) is to be regarded as more likely, for we read [in one of his sermons] to this effect, that [Bodhidharma] further quoted from the *Lankāvatāra* with which the mental ground of all sentient beings was given the [authoritative] seal, this does not conflict with the fact of the case."

It is immaterial, as far as the historical relation between the *Lankāvatāra* and the father of Zen Buddhism in China is concerned, whether the sutra was handed by Bodhidharma to his disciple Hui-k'ê after his realisation of the truth of Zen or before, and again, whether it was Bodhidharma himself or somebody else who first brought the sutra over to China; what we want to establish here is the mere fact of the relationship that historically exists between Bodhidharma and this sutra. Now as to this, we have ascertained it to be really so.

The reference to Ma-tsu (died 788) is important when the position of the *Lankāvatāra* in the history of Zen Buddhism after Hui-nêng is to be considered, though I do not wish to enter into its discussion here. I just quote the passage in question. Ma-tsu figures most prominently in Chinese Zen after Hui-nêng, for it was practically due to him and his contemporaries that Zen came to strike root most firmly in Chinese soil and grow up as a native product of Chinese genius. The passage reads thus: "O monks,

when you each believe that you yourself is the Buddha, your mind is no other than the Buddha-mind. The object of Bodhidharma who came from Southern India to this Middle Kingdom was to personally transmit and propagate the supreme law of One Mind by which we are all to be awakened to the truth." He further quotes from the *Lankāvatāra*, saying, "The mental ground of all sentient beings was given the seal [authority], because he was afraid of your being too confused in mind to believe that you yourself are the Buddha."

In Ma-tsu's discourse, he does not expressly say that the *Lankāvatāra* was given to Hui-k'ê by his master, Bodhidharma, but simply that the existence of the Buddha-mind in each of us is certified by the teaching of the *Lankāvatāra*. The idea of the commentator who alluded to this passage in Ma-tsu was to strengthen the fact that the *Lankāvatāra* and Zen Buddhism were mutually related, not only historically but doctrinally. However this may be, Bodhidharma undoubtedly attempted to authorise the truth of his teaching by the *Lankāvatāra*, in which his unique method and the fact of spiritual enlightenment are expounded as from the Buddha's own "golden mouth." But the narrative in the *Transmission of the Lamp* goes farther than that when it refers to the miraculous virtue of the *Lankāvatāra*. The belief in the magical power of an object considered to be holy is universal. It may be superstition, but if so it is of a wonderfully lasting character, as we find it throughout the world, civilised or uncivilised. May we not regard Bodhidharma's belief in the magical *Lankāvatāra* to destroy the effect of a poison, as indicating the fact that his Zen teaching was very much opposed in his day by enemies, as not being quite in agreement with the experience of Buddhist life that they went through? If this were the case—and it is proved by other facts—the uniqueness of Zen Buddhism must have been quite a disturbing element in the Buddhist world of those days.

There was one noted Zen master of the Sung dynasty who denied the historical relation between the *Lankāvatāra* and Bodhidharma. His name is Ta-kuan T'an-ying (達觀曇穎, 985-1061). His standpoint is that of an absolute transcendentalist, ready to ignore anything relative and historical. According to 人天眼目 (*jên-t'ien yen-mu*, "The Eye for the Gods and Men"), a monk once asked, "Tradition says that Bodhidharma, the Great Master, brought along with him the four fasciculi of the *Lankāvatāra*: is this really so?" T'an-ying replied, "No, that is a mere invention of a busybody. Dharma simply transmitted the mind-seal which is above all letters; directly pointing to the mind itself he led people to see their real nature and attain Buddhahood. This being so, how could the *Lankāvatāra* have anything to do with Dharma?" The monk protested, "But this is the story told in the *Pao-lin-chuan*." The master said, "The writer had not time enough to enquire penetratingly. I will give my viewpoint. There are three translations of the *Lankāvatāra*: the first, in four fasciculi, was done by Guṇabhadra of Sung, who was a Tripitaka-master from India. The next one in ten fasciculi was by Bodhiruci in the Yüan-wei dynasty. The translator was a contemporary of Bodhidharma and it was he who poisoned Dharma. The last one was by Śikshānanda, who as a Tripitaka-master of Yü-t'ien came to China while the Heavenly Empress was ruling in T'ang. When these facts are put together, one can readily understand what is true from what is untrue. Yang-shan Chi (仰山寂), a great Zen master, too, had this once fully discussed and made the matter clear."

Ta-kuan's idea seems to be this: The *Lankāvatāra* was brought over to China and translated into Chinese by somebody else than Bodhidharma, who thus had nothing to concern himself with the sutra, and, therefore, it is evident that he never handed this to his disciple Hui-k'ê. Though there is no express reference to Hui-k'ê, we can infer the above from the way he writes about the translation of the

sutra. From the very beginning he had no thought of connecting the father of Zen Buddhism with the *Lankāvatāra*. The writing of Yang-shan on the subject is now apparently lost.

In one respect Ta-kuan's view is even historically justified. During the Sung dynasty the relation between the Zen and the T'ien-tai school of Buddhism was quite tense, and each did its best to denounce the other as not being in harmony with the spirit of Buddhism. This was due, on the one hand, to T'ien-tai emphasising the intellectual study of the sutras as steps leading to spiritual development, whereas Zen, on the other hand, ignored all such literary and philosophical handbooks as altogether irrelevant to one's religious insight which is all in all in the realisation of the inner truth. The latter did not stop at this, its followers positively rejected all the literary authorities and treated the sutras and other sacred documents as if they were a mere heap of rubbish. This enraged the disciples of Chih-chê Tai-shih, one of whom writes disparagingly in his *History of the Orthodox Buddhism*, fas. III, (釋門正統, *Shih-mên Chêng-tung*): "The school calling itself Ch'an [that is, Zen] generally makes an all-sweeping negation its main business. All that is expounded in the sutras and śāstras, all that is philosophically reasoned out, all that is regarded as morality—all such is put aside by followers of the Ch'an as having no value except on paper. When they are criticised for their extreme view, they declare, 'No disciplining, no realisation—this is the principle of our school.' Why don't they get cured of their diseases by studying our T'ien-tai philosophy of the six identities?" In another place (fas. VI), the author says, "The Zen followers declare their principle to be something directly transmitted from the Buddha outside his explicit teaching; but where can one find his teaching outside the sutras bequeathed to us and to them?" "It is really a pitiable sight to see a Zen master in the pulpit, who, not knowing what is what, scandalises

the ancient worthies, abuses the sutras and their teachings, and confounds the minds of the ignorant and the genteel." (Fas. VII.) The quotations show well how the Zen school was evaluated by its intellectualist opponents during the Sung.

The fact is, there are so many things in common with Zen and T'ien-tai, and just because of this common ground, one side when it goes to one extreme is sure to be denounced by the other side. The writer of the *Jên-t'ien Yen-mu* prefaces Ta-kuan's apology in the following manner: "At the time followers of the philosophical school [of Buddhism, as distinguished from the intuitionists] rose up strongly against the latter and concocting various arguments and reports scandalised the ancient worthies to the disparagement of the Zen school." Probably Ta-kuan was one of these extremely impassioned apologists who tried hard to silence his T'ien-tai opponents, but who at the same time only succeeded in stirring up their blood all the more. When Zen insisted on its being above all fetters of discursive reasoning, the T'ien-tai pointed out the fact that there is the historical fact of Bodhidharma handing the *Lankāvatāra* to his pupil Hui-k'ê, and further argued that if this be the case, how could the Zen followers justify their absolutism which cannot be separated from a sutra. In point of fact, the teaching of Zen is not derived from the *Lankāvatāra*, but is only confirmed by it. Zen stands on its own footing, on its own facts, but as all religious experience requires its intellectual interpretation, Zen, too, must have its philosophical background, which is found in the *Lankāvatāra*. For the sutra teaches, as was shown in the preceding article and elsewhere, that the final goal of the Buddhist life is to gain an inner insight into the truth underlying the relativity of all existence. The reason for this particular sutra's having been brought by Bodhidharma to bear upon his teachings can thus be easily understood. Ta-kuan went too far in his assertion, but his spirit is not altogether against Zen.

At the same time, the T'ien-tai philosophers were not quite right to think that Zen grew out of the letters of the *Lankāvatāra*. The transcendental intuitionism of Zen and the teaching of Pratyātmagatigocara in the *Lankāvatāra* were what connected the two so closely.

VI. THE STUDY OF THE SUTRA AFTER BODHIDHARMA IN CHINA AND JAPAN

After Bodhidharma the study of the *Lankāvatāra* went on steadily as is shown in the history of Zen Buddhism. According to Tao-hsüan, the author of the *T'ang Kao Sêng Chuan* (唐高僧傳), we have under "The Life of Hui-k'ê" the following: "Therefore, Na (那), Man (滿), and other masters always took along with them the *Lankāvatāra* as the book in which spiritual essence is propounded. Their discourses and disciplines were everywhere based upon it in accordance with the instructions left [by the Master]." Na and Man were disciples of Hui-k'ê. Further down in Tao-hsüan's *Biographies* we come to the life of Fa-ch'ung (法冲), who was a contemporary of Tao-hsüan and flourished in the early middle of the T'ang, and who was an especial student of the *Lankāvatāra*. Here we have a concise history of the study of this sutra after Hui-k'ê.

"Fa-ch'ung, deploring very much that the deep signification of the *Lankāvatāra* had been neglected for so long, went around everywhere regardless of the difficulties of travelling in the faraway mountains and over the lonely wastes. He finally came upon the descendants of Hui-k'ê among whom this sutra was being studied a great deal. He put himself under the tutorship of a master and had frequent occasions of spiritual realisation. The master then let him leave the company of his fellow-students and follow his own way in lecturing on the *Lankāvatāra*. He lectured over thirty times in succession. Later he met a monk who had been instructed personally by Hui-k'ê in the teaching of the

Lankāvatāra according to the interpretations of the Ekayāna (one-vehicle) school of Southern India. Chung again lectured on it over a hundred times.

"The sutra was originally translated by Guṇabhadra of Sung and written down by Hui-kuan; therefore, wording and sense are in good concord, practice and substance mutually correlated. The entire emphasis of its teaching is placed on Prajñā (highest intuitive knowledge) which transcends literary expression. Later, Bodhidharma, the Zen master, propagated this doctrine in the South as well as the North, the gist of which teaching consists in attaining the unattainable, which is to have a right insight into the truth itself by forgetting word and thought. Later, it grew and flourished in the middle part of the country. Hui-k'ê was the first who attained to the essential understanding of it. Those addicted to the literary teaching of Buddhism in Wei were averse to becoming associated with these spiritual seers. Among the latter there were some who had their minds truly enlightened by penetrating into the very heart of the teaching. As time passed on the younger generations failed to come to the real understanding of their predecessors."

Now we will trace the line of transmission from the beginning, from master to disciple, and show that the *Lankāvatāra* has its part in the history of Zen. Tao-hsüan continues: "After Bodhidharma there were his two disciples, Hui-k'ê and Hui-yü; the Master Yü, after attaining the truth, was absorbed in his inner life and did not take the trouble to talk about it. K'ê the Ch'an-shih (Zen Master) was followed by San (榮禪師), Hui (惠禪師), Shêng (盛禪師), Na-kuang (那光師), Tuan (端禪師), Chang (長藏師), Chên (眞法師), Yü (玉法師). They all orally discoursed on the deep meaning of the sutra, and did not leave any literature.

"After the Master K'ê, Shan (善師) produced a commentary in four fasciculi; Fêng (豐禪師), one in five fas.;

Ming (明禪師), one in five fas.; and Hu-ming (胡明師), one in five fas.

"Indirectly following the Master K'ê there were the Master Tai-t'sung (大聰師) who wrote commentary in five fas.; Tao-yin (道蔭師), who wrote one in four fas.; Ch'ung (冲法師), who wrote one in five fas.; An (岸法師), who wrote one in five fas.; Chung (寵法師), who wrote one in eight fas.; and Tai-ming (大明師) who wrote one in ten fas.

"There was another line, independent of the Master K'ê but depending upon [Asanga's] *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*; Chien (遷禪師) wrote a commentary in four fas.; and Shan-tê the Vinaya Master (尚德律師), one in ten fas. After Na-kuang (那光師), there were Shih the Zen Master (實禪師), Hui (惠禪師), K'uang (曠禪師), and Hung-chih (弘智師) who is said to have been living at Hsi-ming (西明) in the capital; after his death the line was broken. Ming the Zen Master (明禪師) was succeeded by Chia (伽法師), Pao-yü (寶瑜師), Pao-ying (寶迎師), and Pao-ying (寶瑩師), whose line is still flourishing at present.

"Ch'ung, since he began to study the sutras, made the *Lankāvatāra* the chief object of his especial study and altogether gave over two hundred lectures on it. He has not, however, so far written anything about it. He went about with his lecturing as circumstances directed him, and he had no premeditated plans for his missionary activities. When one gets into the spirit of the teaching one realises the oneness of things; but when the letters are adhered to, the truth appears varied. The followers of Ch'ung, however, insisted on having him put the essence into a kind of writing. Said the Master, 'The essence is the ultimate reality of existence; when it is expressed by means of language its finesse is lost; much more is this the case when it is committed to writing.' He however could not resist the persistent requests of his disciples. The result appeared as a commentary in five fasciculi, entitled *Szū Chi* 私記 [private notes], which is widely circulated at present."

This detailed story relative to the *Lankāvatāra* after Hui-k'ê is illuminating in many ways; it not only gives an insight into the historical relation between Zen and the sutra, but it gives the reason why the relationship exists between them. When the author refers to the specific features of the *Lankāvatāra* as consisting in attaining the unattainable, which is beyond the ken of reasoning, he at the same time describes the peculiarities of Zen teaching brought over to China by Bodhidharma. That the school of Dharma was not favourably received by students of Buddhist philosophy, that Hui-yü (慧育) who is better known as Tao-yü (道育), kept his mouth closed, knowing that the truth realised in his innermost mind was something beyond the phraseology of ordinary mentalities, that Fa-ch'ung (法冲) refused to commit his thoughts to writing because by doing so the exquisite colouring of his lively experience vanishes; —all these statements made by Tao-hsüan (道宣) who was not yet acquainted with the later growth of Zen Buddhism, so exactly delineates the characteristic point of Zen. The study of the *Lankāvatāra*, as especially related to Zen, was kept up to the time of Fa-ch'ung and Tao-hsüan, who were contemporaries, and this was about the time of Hung-jên (弘忍), the fifth patriarch of Chinese Zen Buddhism. Judging from these historical facts we know that the intellectual study and the practical discipline went on side by side, and that there were as yet none of the clear distinctions which later developed distinguishing the Zen after Hui-nêng (慧能), the sixth patriarch, from what preceded. So far none of all these numerous commentaries on the *Lankāvatāra* have been recovered.

There is one thing in the foregoing account given by Tao-hsüan of the history of the *Lankāvatāra* that requires notice: that there was another school in the study of the sutra than the one transmitted by Dharma and Hui-k'ê. This was the school of Yogācāra idealism. The line of Hui-k'ê belonged to the Ekayāna school (一乘教) of

Southern India which was also the one resorted to by Dharma himself when he wanted to discourse on the philosophy of Zen Buddhism. To this Ekayāna school belong the *Avatamsaka* and the *Śraddhotpanna* as well as the *Lankāvatāra* properly interpreted. But as the latter makes mention of the system of the eight Vijnānas whose central principle is designated as Ālayavijñāna, it has been used by the Yogācāra followers as one of their important authorities. Ch'ien the Zen Master (遷禪師) and other teachers were those among whom the *Lankāvatāra* received an interpretation different from that given by Fa-ch'ung and his party. Though Fa-ch'ung is not recorded in any historical work on Zen in our possession at present, he was probably one of the earlier Zen followers. That he was not an ordinary scholar of the *Lankāvatāra* is proved by the following incident recorded by Tao-hsüan. When Hsüan-chuang (玄奘) came back from his long sojourn in India his influence in the Buddhist world of the day must have been immense. He was perhaps a little too self-confident and somewhat too presumptive when he declared that all the Chinese translations of the Buddhist sutras and śāstras prior to him were not exact and reliable, and no discourses or lectures ought to be given on the older texts. When Fa-ch'ung heard of this, he retorted sharply, saying, "You are a Buddhist priest ordained according to the older texts; if you do not allow any further propagation of them, you should first take off the priestly robe and be reordained according to the newer texts. It is only when you listen to this advice of mine that you can go so far as to prohibit the spread of the older translations." This protest from one wandering monk-student of the *Lankāvatāra* in four fasciculi against the most powerful authority of the new translation school, whose reputation and influence must have been almost overwhelming, shows what kind of a man Fa-ch'ung really was. Everything recorded of him reminds one strongly of his Zen training and understanding.

The study of the *Lankāvatāra* after Fa-ch'ung seems to have declined, especially in connection with Zen Buddhism, and its place was taken by the *Vajracchedikā*, a sutra belonging to the Prajñāpāramitā group. It is quite interesting to enquire into the circumstances that brought about this change. For one thing the *Lankāvatāra* is a very difficult specimen of literature, and it requires a great deal of scholarship to read and understand it intelligently. Though Tao-hsüan remarks that its diction and sense are well in harmony (文理克諧), Su Tung-pei's (蘇東坡) criticism, which appears in his preface to the Chin-shan edition (金山板) of the Sung dynasty (1085), is more to the point: "The *Lankāvatāra* is deep and unfathomable in meaning, and in style so terse and antique, that the reader finds it quite difficult to punctuate the sentences properly, not to say anything about his adequately understanding their ultimate spirit and meaning which goes beyond the letters. This was the reason why the sutra grew scarce and it became almost impossible to get hold of a copy." The real difficulty of properly punctuating the Chinese text of the *Lankāvatāra* in four fasciculi lies not necessarily, as Su Tung-pei judges, in the classical terseness of style, but rather in its adoption of the Sanskrit style of arranging words as is remarked by Fa-tsang. It was no easy task even for a most competent scholar to find exact Chinese expressions for the original phrases, and frequently he was obliged to follow the Sanskrit grammar. The Chinese translations, therefore, had occasionally to be read, not after their native laws of syntax, but after the Sanskrit. This is what Su Tung-pei really means by "terseness of style", and also the reason for Chiang Chih-chi's (蔣之奇) complaint that "I was much distressed with the difficulty of reading this sutra." When even scholars of the first grade find the *Lankāvatāra* so hard to read, the natural result was to leave it alone on the shelf for the worms to feed on it. Hence its decline as a help to the mastery of Zen. After Fa-ch'ung, who was con-

temporary with Hung-jên, the fifth patriarch of Zen Buddhism in China, the *Lankāvatāra* came gradually to be replaced by the *Vajracchedikā*. This does not mean that the former went altogether out of usage, but that the latter came to be thought more of in connection with Zen, especially as Zen grew to be more and more popular and appreciated by the general public outside the cloister. It must, therefore, be said that the fifth patriarch was far-sighted enough in this respect. The decline of the *Lankāvatāra* was, in fact, inevitable. The statement made by Chiang Chih-chi in his preface to the Chin-shan edition of the *Lankāvatāra* sheds light on the history of the sutra and also on the state of affairs in the Buddhist thought-world of his day (1085), and we give the following extract in which the two tendencies of Buddhism are referred to:

“The sutras preached by the Buddha are classified altogether into twelve divisions, which now make up as many as 5,000 fasciculi. While the Right Law was still in prevalence, the number of converts was beyond reckoning, who fathomed the bottom of the Law by merely listening to a half stanza, or even to one phrase of the Buddha’s teaching. But as we come to the age of similitude and to these latter days of Buddhism, we are indeed far away from the Sage; people at last find themselves being drowned in the letters; the difficulty is like counting the sands on the bottom of the ocean, and they do not know how to get at the one substance which alone is true. This was what caused the appearance of the Fathers, who, directly pointing at the human mind, told us to see here the ultimate ground of all things and thereby to attain Buddhahood. This is known as a special transmission outside the scriptural teaching. If one is endowed by superior talents and an unusual sharpness of mind, a gesture or an utterance will suffice to make one have an immediate knowledge of the truth. Therefore, Ummon (雲門) treated the Buddha with the highest degree of irreverence, while Yakusan (藥山) forbade his

followers to even study the sutras, since they were advocates of 'special transmission.'

"Zen is the name given to this branch of Buddhism, which keeps itself away from the Buddha. It is also called the mystical branch, because it does not adhere to the literal meaning of the sutras. It is for this reason that those who blindly follow the steps of Buddha are sure to deride Zen, while those who have no liking for letters are naturally inclined toward the mystical. The followers of the two schools know how to shake the head at each other, but fail to appreciate the fact that they are after all complementary. Is not Zen one of the six virtues of perfection? If so, how can it conflict with the teaching of the Buddha? In my view, Zen is the outcome of the Buddha's teaching and the mystical issues from the letters. There is no reason why one should shun Zen because of the Buddha's teaching, nor do we have to disregard the letters on account of the mystical teaching. When we realise this, we come nearer to the truth. Jan-ch'iu (冉求) asked, 'Should I put everything I learn into practice?' Replied Confucius, 'Yes, do so conduct yourself.' When Tzū-lu (子路) asked the same question of the Master, the latter cautioned him, saying, 'As long as your parents are still alive, how can you put everything into practice as soon as you learn it?' Ch'iu was backward, so the Master urged him to go ahead, while Lu was too pushing, so he was told to be more circumspect. There is nothing cut and dried in Zen teaching, it is always directed at the onesidedness of human character. The fault of studying [scriptural] Buddhism lies in the danger of becoming sticklers for the scriptures, the meaning of which they fail to rightfully understand. Ultimate reality is never grasped by such, for them Zen would be salvation. Whereas those who study Zen are too apt to run into the habit of making empty talks and practising sophistry. They fail to understand the significance of letters. To save such the study of Buddhist literature [or philosophy] is to be re-

commended. It is only when these onesided views are mutually corrected that there is a perfect appreciation of Buddhist teaching.

“Of old when Bodhidharma was here from the West, he handed the mind-seal over to the second patriarch, Hui-k'ê, and afterwards said: ‘I have here the *Lankāvatāra* in four fasciculi which I now pass to you. It contains the essential teaching concerning the mind-ground of the Tathagata, by means of which you lead all sentient beings to open their eye to the truth of Buddhism.’ According to this we know that Bodhidharma was not onesided, both the Buddhist sutra and Zen were handed over to his disciple, both the mystical and the letters were transmitted. At the time of the fifth patriarch, the *Lankāvatāra* was replaced by the *Vajracchedikā* which was given to the sixth patriarch. When the latter [while peddling the kindling wood] heard his customer recite the *Vajracchedikā*, he asked him whence he got the text. He answered, ‘I come from Mt. Wu-tsu (五祖山) east of Wang-mai (黃梅) in the province of Chin (蘄州) where Hung-jên the Great Master (弘忍大師), advises both monks and laymen to study the *Vajracchedikā*, which will by itself lead them to an insight into the nature of being and thus to the attainment of Buddhahood.’ Thus the holding of the *Vajracchedikā* started with the fifth patriarch, and this is how the sutra came into vogue and cut short the transmission of the *Lankāvatāra*....”

This long passage is quoted from Chiang Chih-chi's preface to the Chin-shan edition of the *Lankāvatāra*, as it is enlightening in more ways than one. First, we can infer from it that there was a strong antipathy between the philosophers of Buddhism and the Zen followers, each trying to get the upper hand; second, that the history of Zen Buddhism has been closely connected from the very beginning with the study of the *Lankāvatāra*; third, that the spread of the *Vajracchedikā* was coincident with the rise of Zen under the mastership of Hung-jên; and fourth, that

the *Lankāvatāra* ceased to be studied as much as before, being replaced by the *Vajracchedikā*, but at the same time showing that the *Lankāvatāra* and Zen were most intimately related in spite of the Zen followers' general attitude of aloofness from all the sutras of Buddhist teaching.

There is, however, one point in Chiang Chih-chi's account which requires revision. He says that the *Lankāvatāra* lost its transmission after the adoption by Zen followers of the *Vajracchedikā*, but this is not entirely correct, for not only are allusions to the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* found in Ma-tsu (馬祖) but the line of Shên-hsiu (神秀) seems to have been more partial to the *Lankāvatāra* than to the *Vajracchedikā*, as we see in Chang Shuo's stele-inscription (張說碑銘) for Shên-hsiu.¹

As I remarked before, the chief defect in the *Lankāvatāra* which prevented its becoming popular, was its peculiar style and diction, which is not altogether native Chinese, and which made it difficult even for scholars to understand. On the other hand, the *Vajracchedikā*, like other sutras of the Prajñāpāramitā group, is easy to understand so far as its diction and phraseology go; and besides it is short in spite of its repetitious style. This advantage over the *Lankāvatāra* is sufficient to explain why the *Vajracchedikā* superseded it as a guide book to the mastery of Zen teaching. While the *Lankāvatāra*, according to my judgment, as regards pointing the way to the realisation of the inner truth, is nearer the mark, this advantage is easily upset by its unapproachability; and this advantage of the *Vajracchedikā* is in many ways decisive if Zen is to be studied and practised by a wider circle than scholars and specialists. That the *Lankāvatāra*, in spite of its literary shortcomings,

¹ Shen-shiu is not regarded as the sixth patriarch by the followers of Hui-nêng, who have been the transmitters of Zen teaching down to the present day. The line led by Shên-hsiu was broken off not long after his death, and records regarding him and his descendants are very scarce. But Chang-shuo's inscription states that Shên-hsiu was the sixth patriarch.

kept up its tradition throughout the development and wide propagation of Zen is proved by the existence still of a number of commentaries written in the T'ang, Sung, Ming, and Ch'ing, as well as in Japan. What, therefore, we can say of the *Lankāvatāra* after the fifth patriarch, is that it did not cease to be studied, but was not so much in vogue as before, as for instance at the time of Fa-ch'ung and prior to him.

The supersession of the *Lankāvatāra* by the *Vajracchedikā* has another reason in the nature of Zen about which I wish to have a word here. Zen has no aversion to book-learning necessarily, but in point of fact Zen can be grasped more readily perhaps by the simple-minded and those who are not stuffed with intellectual accomplishments, as is proved, for instance, in the case of Hui-nêng, who to all appearance was not so erudite as his rival Shên-hsiu. This practical tendency has produced another tendency to discourage, sometimes to disregard, sometimes to even positively slight, the study of the sutras. Hence the above remarks of Chiang Chih-chi. But here is the lurking-place for the two divergent schools of Zen to start out without being fully conscious of each other's characteristic standpoint. The one clings to the view that Zen is not controlled by the intellect, while the other upholds the fact that Zen is not by nature shy of erudition. The latter tends to be patronised by those whose natural bent is for learning and intellection; while the former is likely to be favoured by the more practical-minded. Hui-nêng belonged to the practical school both by disposition and by education, while Shên-hsiu was a scholar; for this reason Shên-hsiu held fast to the *Lankāvatāra*, and Hui-nêng to the *Vajracchedikā*, while both were being tutored by Hung-jên; for it is not true that Hung-jên was partial to the *Vajracchedikā*; indeed, for him the one was of as much importance as the other. Seeing that Hung-jên was about to paint the outside wall of his Meditation Hall with pictures illustrative of the *Lankāva-*

tāra, Hui-nêng inscribed his famous poem upon it.¹ What was a unity in the mind of the master, divided itself in the minds of his disciples, each of whom, according to his individuality, asserted one side more forcibly than the other, although not necessarily consciously. When a tendency is thus in the beginning given a strong impetus, it gains momentum, opening up its own course of movement. The *Vajracchedikā* school of Hui-nêng proved to be more in accord with the Chinese genius and consequently prospered more than the *Lankāvatāra* school of Shên-hsiu, though the latter was not entirely replaced by the former.

Hui-nêng was not such an illiterate peddler as is made out by his followers, only he was not so learned and scholarly as Shên-hsiu. But it was more politic for them to contrast their leader in this respect with his rival, who, was, indeed, the head of all the monks under Hung-jên not only in learning but in the disciplinary side of Zen as well. By emphasising this contrast Hui-nêng came out to be the greater Zen master, and the absolute aspect of Zen by which it transcends all the intricacies of learning and intellection received more emphasis than it actually needed. The *Lankāvatāra* thus finally ceased to be legitimately appreciated by the Zen followers of the present day. Some scholars of Buddhism, chiefly modern Japanese, ignorant of the real nature of Zen, yet knowing enough of the historical relation between Hui-nêng and the *Vajracchedikā*, which was once edited by him with a preface, try to prove that Zen is the outcome of practical training of the mind to gain an insight into its real working. But its absurdity is patent to all serious students of Zen, for the *Prajñāpāramitā* is the result of the intellectual elaboration on the Zen experience which alone was the object of Hui-nêng's teaching in

¹ *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Series I, p. 192:

“The Bodhi is not like the tree,
The mirror bright is nowhere shining;
As there is nothing from the first,
Where can the dust collect itself?”

connection with all the literary endeavours of scholars. He never took a dislike especially to the *Lankāvatāra*, his "ignorance" was altogether of a different order.

There are no records after Fa-ch'ung and after Hui-nêng as to the study by Zen followers of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, except the commentaries that had been written on it by scholars and that we are still in possession of. The fact that during the Sung the sutra was much neglected has already been made clear by the preface of Chiang Chih-chi and Su Tung-pei to the Chin-shan edition of the sutra. But four commentaries of the Sung dynasty are still extant against two of the T'ang. One of the T'ang commentaries was written by Fa-tsang, as was stated previously, and this is a sort of general introduction to the study of the *Lankāvatāra* and is the most valuable literature ever written in connection with the sutra; for not only does it give the author's summarised interpretation of the *Lankāvatāra* as a whole and of its position in the system of Buddhism, but in it the reader can find Fa-tsang's view as a Buddhist philosopher. Quite a few commentaries have been written on this work of Fa-tsang's by Japanese scholars.

During the Ming dynasty the *Lankāvatāra* seems to have been studied much, for we have seven commentaries written on it during this period that are still in existence. The Ch'ing dynasty has produced two, also extant. There are altogether fifteen expository writings on the *Lankāvatāra* from Chinese scholars, which are still in current circulation, as they are all included in the supplementary part of the Tripitaka compiled by Mr. Tatsuye Nakano, Kyoto, 1905-1912, and one is found in the main body of the Chinese Tripitaka itself.

In Japan during the Nara era in the eighth century the *Lankāvatāra* with other sutras and śāstras was copied by pious Buddhists as a deed of merit and also to have extra copies of them, but how earnestly it was studied is not

known. We have many interesting and at the same time illuminating documents of this period, that is, of the first half of the eighth century, in which detailed entries are kept as to the various Buddhist writings that were copied by the official scribes as well as the business side of this pious undertaking which was constantly carried on during those days. Among these old valuable papers are references to the *Lankāvatāra* and its commentaries, and the most remarkable thing is that two of the commentaries mentioned are ascribed to Bodhidharma himself. How did such a tradition come over to Japan? As far as we know there are no records in China as to Bodhidharma's authorship of any such writings. If these were still in existence, they would shed much light on the history of Zen Buddhism in China.

The first serious study of the sutra was undertaken by a Zen monk called Kokwan Shiren (1278-1346) who was also a learned scholar being the author of a history of Buddhism known as *The Genko Shakusho* (元亨釋書三十卷) in thirty fasciculi, as was mentioned before. His commentary on the *Lankāvatāra* is called the *Butsugoshinron* (佛語心論十八卷), "Treatise on the Essence (or heart) of the Buddha-teaching," and consists of eighteen fasciculi. His dividing the sutra into eighty-six sections proves the keenness of his intellectual and analytical acumen. Tokugan Yōson (徳嚴養存) who published another commentary in 1687 followed Kokwan in the division of the sutra. His commentary is quite an improvement on his predecessor's. He mentions, among the *Lankāvatāra* commentaries he consulted with, two which are not included in the Supplementary Tripitaka of Kyoto. I wonder if they are accessible now?

A third Japanese work on the sutra is mentioned by Seigai Ōmura and Gisho Nakano who are the authors of the *Explanatory Notes* to the Nihon Daizokyo (日本大藏經解題) completed in 1921; the title of this Japanese book is *Ryōga-kyō Kōyoku* (楞伽經講翼), by Kōken (光謙). Unfortunately the author of this article has not yet been able to see it

himself. In the same *Notes* seven works are mentioned written by Japanese scholars as commentaries on Fa-tsung's *Introduction to the Lankāvatāra*.

Most recent Japanese works relative to the *Lankāvatāra* are Sōgen Yamakami's Japanese rendering of the *Lankāvatāra* by Śikshānanda; Shōshi Mitsui's concise exposition of the *Lankāvatāra* teaching; and Hōkei Idzumi's Japanese translation of the Nanjo edition of the Sanskrit original. Each in its way is helpful to the understanding of this neglected Mahayana literature.

VII. INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER OF THE LANKAVATARA SUTRA

*In which Rāvana, King of the Rakshasas, requests the
Buddha to discourse on the realisation of the
inmost truth*

This introductory chapter which appears in all the *Lankāvatāra* texts except Guṇabhadra, the earliest Chinese version now extant, is, as I have remarked before, no doubt a later addition, and does not properly belong to the main text; but as it pretty well gives a summary, if any such thing is possible, of the *Lankāvatāra*, I have decided to incorporate its translation in this article. The translation is chiefly based upon the Nanjo edition of the Sanskrit text, and wherever it differs very much from the Chinese versions as regards the sense, the differences are quoted in footnotes.¹

¹ The following translation is far from being satisfactory, and very likely it is laden with errors. Nobody can deny that the original text is corrupt to a great extent and requires for its complete revision greater learning and more critical intellect than the present translator can afford. But his over-zeal to have this important Mahayana sutra more widely known not only among those who are interested in Buddhism but among students of comparative religion will, he hopes, condone his audacity in sending this partial and imperfect translation of the *Lankāvatāra* to the public at large. He will be more than pleased if critics will be kind enough to get him acquainted with whatever suggestions and corrections they may find in it.

(1)¹ Thus I have heard. The Blessed One once stayed in the Castle of Lankā which is situated at the peak of Mount Malaya on the great ocean, and which is adorned with flowers made of jewels of various kinds.² He was with a large assembly of Bhikshus and with a great multitude of Bodhisattvas, who had come together from various Buddha-lands. The Bodhisattvas-Mahasattvas, headed by the Bodhisattva Mahāmāti, were all perfect masters³ of the various Samādhis, the [tenfold] Self-mastery, the [ten] Powers, and the [six] Psychic Faculties; they were anointed by all the Buddhas with their own hands; they all well understood the significance of the objective world as the manifestation of their own mind; (2) they knew how to maintain [various] forms, teachings, and disciplinary measures, according to the various mentalities and behaviours of beings;⁴ they were thoroughly versed in the five Dharmas, the [three] Svabhāvas, the [eight] Vijñānas, and the twofold Non-ātman.

At that time, the Blessed One who had been preaching at the palace of the King of the Sea-serpents came out at the expiration of seven days and was greeted by an innumerable host of Śakra, Brahmans, and Nāgakanyās, and looking at Lankā on Mount Malaya smiled and said, "By the Tathagatas of the past, who were Arhats and Fully-enlightened Ones, this truth (*dharma*) was made the subject of their discourse, at that castle of Lankā on the mountain-peak of

¹ These numerals in parentheses refer to the pages of the Sanskrit edition.

² Much more fully described in Bodhiruci (Wei).

³ Literally, "sporting" (*āvīkrīḍita*).

⁴ T'ang: According to the minds of beings, they manifest a variety of form and discipline them with [various] means.

Wei: [There are] various beings and various minds and forms; in accordance with these various minds and various changing thoughts, [the Bodhisattvas], by innumerable means of salvation, save [beings] everywhere, make themselves visible everywhere, so that their manifestations are universal.

Sung: [There are] various beings and various minds and forms; by innumerable means of salvation, [the Bodhisattvas] become variously visible to all classes [of beings].

Malaya,—the truth realisable by the supreme wisdom in one's inmost self, and not visible to the reasoning philosophers, nor conceivable by the consciousness of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas.¹ I, too, would here for the sake of Rāvana, Overlord of the Yakshas, discourse on this truth."

[Inspired] by the spiritual power of the Tathagata, Rāvana, Lord of the Rakshasas, heard [his voice and thought], "Certainly, the Blessed One is coming out of the palace of the King of Sea-serpents, surrounded and accompanied by an innumerable host of Śakra, Brahmans, Nāgakanyās; looking at the waves of the ocean and contemplating the mental agitations going on in those assembled, [he thinks of] the ocean of the Ālayavijñāna where the Vijñānas revolve [like the waves] stirred by the wind of objectivity." Then standing there, Rāvana uttered an utterance: "I will go and request of the Blessed One to enter into Lankā, which for this long night would probably profit, do good, and gladden (3) the gods as well as human beings."

Thereupon, Rāvana, Lord of the Rakshasas, with his attendants, riding in his floral celestial chariot, came up to where the Blessed One was, and having arrived there he and his attendants came out of the chariot. Walking around the Blessed One three times from left to right, they played on a musical instrument, beating it with a stick of blue Indra (sapphire), and hanging the lute at one side, which was inlaid with the choicest lapis lazuli and supported by [a band of] priceless cloth, yellowish-white like *priyaṅgu*, they sang with various notes such as Saharshya, Rishabha, Gāndhāra, Dhaivata, Nishāda, Madhyama, and Kaiśika,² which were melodiously modulated in Grāma, Murchana, etc.; the voice in accompaniment with the flute beautifully blended in the measure of the Gāthā.

¹ The Sanskrit text is here certainly at fault; there ought to be a negative particle somewhere in this passage, which is the case with the Chinese translations.

² Neither Bodhiruci nor Śikshānanda refers so specifically to these various notes.

1. "The truth-treasure whose principle is the self-nature of Mind, has no selfhood, stands away from reasoning, and is free from impurities; it points to the knowledge attained in one's inmost self; O Lord, show me here the way leading to the truth.

2. "The Sugata is the body in whom are stored immaculate virtues; in him are manifested [bodies] transforming and transformed; he enjoys the truth realised in his inmost self: may he enter into Lankā. Now is the time, O Muni!

3. (4) This Lankā was inhabited by the Buddhas of the past, and [they were] accompanied by their sons who were owners of many forms. O Lord, show me now the highest truth, and the Yakshas who are endowed with many forms will listen."

Thereupon, Rāvana, the Lord of Lankā, further adapting the Toṭaka rhythm sang this in the measure of the Gāthā.

4. After seven nights, the Blessed One, leaving the ocean which is the abode of the Makara, the palace of the Sea-king, now stands on the shore.

5. Just as the Buddha rises, Rāvana, accompanied by the Rakshasas and Yakshas numerous, by Śuka, Sārana,¹ and learned men,

6. Miraculously goes over to the place where the Lord is standing. Alighting from the floral vehicle, he greets the Tathagata reverentially, makes him offerings, tells him who he is, and stands by the Lord.

7. "I who have come here, am called Rāvana, the ten-headed king of the Rakshasas: mayest thou graciously receive me with Lankā and all its residents.

8. "In this city, the inmost state of consciousness realised, indeed, by the Enlightened Ones of the past (5) was disclosed on this peak studded with precious stones.

9. "Let the Blessed One, too, surrounded by sons of

¹ Said to be the ministers' names.

the Victorious One, now disclose the truth immaculate on this peak embellished with precious stones; we, together with the residents of Lankā, desire to listen.

10. "The *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* which is praised by the Buddhas of the past [discloses] the inmost state of consciousness realised by them, as it is not founded on any system of doctrine.

11. "I recollect the Buddhas of the past surrounded by sons of the Victorious One recite this sutra; the Blessed One, too, will speak.

12. "In the time to come, there will be Buddhas and Buddha-Sons pitying the Yakshas; the Leaders will discourse on this magnificent doctrine at the peak adorned with precious stones.

13. "This magnificent city of Lankā is adorned with varieties of precious stones, [surrounded] by peaks, refreshing and beautiful and canopied by a net of jewels.

14. "O Blessed One, here are the Yakshas who are free from faults of greed, reflecting on [the truth] realised in one's inmost self and making offerings to the Buddhas of the past; they are believers in the teaching of the Mahayana and intent on disciplining one another.

15. "There are younger Yakshas, girls and boys, desiring to know the Mahayana. Come, O Blessed One, who art our Teacher, come to Lankā on Mount Malaya.

16. (6) "The Rakshasas, with Kumbhakarṇa at their head, who are residing in the city, wish, as they are devoted to the Mahayana, to hear about this inmost realisation.

17. "They have made offerings assiduously to the Buddhas [in the past] and are to-day going to do the same. Come, for compassion's sake, to Lankā, together with [thy] sons.

18. "O great Muni, accept my mansion, the company of the Apsaras, necklaces of various sorts, and the delightful Aśoka garden.

19. "I give myself up to serve the Buddhas and their

sons; there is nothing in me that I do not give up [for their sake]; O great Muni, have compassion on me!"

20. Hearing him speak thus, the Lord of the Triple World said, "O King of Yakshas, this mountain of precious stones was visited by the Leaders of the past.

21. "And, taking pity on you, they discoursed on the truth revealed in their inmost. [The Buddhas of] the future time will proclaim [the same] on this jewel-adorned mountain.

22. "This [inmost truth] is the abode of those practisers who stand in the presence of the truth. O King of the Yakshas, you have the compassion of the Sugatas and myself."

23. The Blessed One granting the request [of the King] remained silent and undisturbed; he now mounted the floral chariot offered by Rāvana.

24. Thus Rāvana and others, wise sons of the Victorious One, (7) honoured by the Apsaras singing and dancing, reached the city.

25. Arriving in the delightful city, [the Buddha was] again the recipient of honours; he was honoured by the group of Yakshas including Rāvana and by the Yaksha women.

26. A net of jewels was offered to the Buddha by the younger Yakshas, girls and boys, and necklaces beautifully ornamented with jewels were placed by Rāvana about the necks of the Buddha and of the sons of the Buddha.

27. The Buddha, together with the sons of the Buddha and the wise men, accepting the offerings, discoursed on the truth which is the state of consciousness realised in the inmost self.

28. Honouring Mahāmati as the best speaker, Rāvana and the company of the Yakshas honoured and requested of him again and again,¹ [saying],

¹ Gāthās 20-28, inclusive, are in prose in T'ang.

29. "Thou art the asker of the Buddhas concerning the state of consciousness realised in their inmost self, of which we here, Yakshas as well as sons of the Buddha, are desirous of hearing. I, together with the Yakshas, sons of the Buddha, and the wise men, request this of thee.

30. "Thou art the most eloquent of speakers, and the most strenuous of practisers (yogins); with faith I beg of thee. Ask [the Buddha] about the doctrine, O thou the proficient one!

31. "Free from the faults of the philosophers and Pratyekabuddhas and Śrāvakas is (8) the truth of the inmost consciousness, immaculate, and culminating in the stage of Buddhahood."

32.¹ Thereupon the Blessed One created jewel-adorned mountains and other objects magnificently embellished with jewels in an immense number.

33. On the summit of each mountain the Buddha himself was visible, and Rāvana, the Yaksha, also was found standing there.

34. Thus the entire assembly was seen on each mountain-peak and all the countries were there, and in each there was a Leader.

35. Here also was the King of the Rakshasas and the residents of Lankā, and the Lankā created by the Buddha rivalling [the real one].

36. Other things were there, too,—the Aśoka with its shining woods, and on each mountaint-peak Mahāmati was making a request of the Buddha

37. Who discoursed for the sake of the Yakshas on the truth leading to the inmost realisation; on the mountain-peak he was delivering a complete sutra with exquisite voices varied in hundreds of thousands of ways.²

¹ From this point T'ang is in prose again.

² Thus according to Bodhiruci and Śīkhānanda. The Sanskrit text has: "hundreds of thousands of perfect sutras".

38. [After this] the teacher and the sons of the Buddhas vanished away in the air, leaving Rāvana the Yaksha himself standing in his mansion.

39. Thought he, "How is this? What means this? and by whom was it heard? What was it that was seen? and by whom was it seen? Where is the city? and where is the Buddha?"

40. "Where are those places, those jewel-shining Buddhas, those Sugatas? (9) Is it a dream then? or a vision? or is it a castle conjured up by the Gandharvas?"

41. "Or is it dust in the eye, or a fata morgana, or the dream-child of a barren woman, or the smoke of a fire-wheel, that which I saw here?"

42. Then [Rāvana reflected], "This is the nature as it is (*dharmatā*) of all things objectified in and by the mind, and it is not comprehended by the ignorant as they are confused by every form of discrimination.

43. "There is neither the seer nor the seen, neither the speaker nor the spoken; the form and usage of the Buddhist works—they are nothing but discrimination.

44. "Those who see things such as were seen before, do not see the Buddha; when discrimination is not aroused, then one indeed sees¹ the Buddha; the Buddha is a Fully-Enlightened One; when one sees him, it is in a world unmanifested."²

The Lord of Lankā was then immediately awakened, feeling a turning (*parāvṛtti*) in his mind and realising that the world was nothing but his own mind: he got settled in the realm of non-discrimination; was inspired by a stock of his past good deeds; acquired the cleverness of under-

¹ The Nanjo edition has here *na*, but I have followed the T'ang.

² T'ang has: "He who sees in the way as was seen before, cannot see the Buddha; when no discrimination is aroused, this, indeed, is the seeing." According to Wei: "If he sees things and takes them for realities, he does not see the Buddha. Even when he is not abiding in a discriminating mind, he cannot see the Buddha." Wei evidently reads somewhat like the Sanskrit.

standing all the texts; obtained the faculty of seeing [into things] as they were; was no more dependent upon others; observed things excellently with his own wisdom; gained the insight that was not of discursive reasoning; was no more dependent upon others;¹ became himself a great practiser of discipline; was able to manifest himself in all excellent forms; got thoroughly acquainted with all skilful means; had the knowledge of the characteristic aspects of every stage whereby to surmount it skilfully; was delighted to look into² the self-nature of Citta, Manas, Manovijñāna; got a view whereby he could cut himself loose from the triple continuation; had the knowledge of disposing of every argument of (10) the philosophers; thoroughly understood the Tathāgata-garbha, the stage of Buddhahood, the inmost self; found himself abiding in the Buddha-knowledge; [when suddenly] a voice was heard from the sky, saying, "It is to be known by oneself."

"Well done, well done, O Lord of Lankā! Well done, indeed, O Lord of Lankā, for once more! The practiser is to discipline himself as thou doest. The Tathagatas and all things are to be viewed as they are viewed by thee; otherwise viewed, it is nihilism. All things are to be comprehended by transcending the Citta, Manas, and Vijñāna as is done by thee. Thou shouldst look inwardly and not get attached to the letters and a superficial view of things; thou shouldst not fall into the attainments, conceptions, experiences, views, and Samādhis of the Śrāvakas, Pratyek-abuddhas, and philosophers; thou shouldst not have any liking for small talk and witticism; thou shouldst not cherish the notion of self-substance,³ nor have any thought for the vainglory of rulership, nor dwell on such Dhyānas as belong to the six Dhyānas, etc.

"O Lord of Lankā, this is what is realised by the great

¹ This does not appear in T'ang, nor in Wei.

² T'ang: to go beyond.

³ Wei and T'ang; Do not hold the views maintained in the Vedas.

practisers who can thus destroy the discourses advanced by others, crush mischievous views into pieces, properly keep themselves away from ego-centered notions, cause a turning in the depths of the mind fittingly by means of an exquisite knowledge; they are Buddha-sons who walk in the way of the Mahayana; and in order to enter upon the Tathagata-stage of self-realisation, the discipline is to be pursued by thee.

“O Lord of Lankā, conducting thyself in this way, let thee be further purified in the way thou hast attained; (11) by disciplining thyself well in Samādhi and Samāpatti, follow not the state realised and enjoyed by the Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, and philosophers, as it is due to the imagination of those who discipline themselves according to the practices of the puerile philosophers. They cling to the visible forms created by their egotistical ideas; they maintain such notions as element, quality, and substance; they cling tenaciously to views originating from ignorance; they get confused by cherishing the idea of birth where prevails emptiness; they cling to discrimination [as real]; they fall into the way of thinking where obtains the dualism of qualifying and qualified.

“O Lord of Lankā, this is what leads to various excellent attainments, this is what makes one grow aware of the inmost attainment, this is the Mahayana realisation. One will accomplish and acquire a superior state of existence.

“O Lord of Lankā, by entering upon the Mahayana discipline the veils [of ignorance] are destroyed and one turns away from the manifold waves of mentation and falls not into the refuge and practice of the philosophers.

“O Lord of Lankā, the philosophers’ practice starts from their own egotistic attachments. Their ugly practice arises from their adhering to the dualistic views concerning the self-nature of the Vijñāna.

“Well done, O Lord of Lankā! reflect on the significance of this as you did when seeing the Tathagata before; for this, indeed, is seeing the Tathagata.”

At that time it occurred to Rāvana: "I wish to see the Blessed One again, who has all the disciplinary practices at his command, who has turned away from the practices of the philosophers, who is born of the state of realisation in the inmost consciousness, and who is beyond [the dualism of] the transformed and the transforming. He is the knowledge (12) realised by the practisers, he is the realisation attained by those who are enjoying the perfect bliss of the Samādhi when there takes place an intuitive understanding which comes through meditation. Therefore, he is known as great adept in the mental discipline.' May I see thus [again] the Compassionate One by means of his miraculous powers in whom the fuel of passion and discrimination are destroyed, who is surrounded by sons of the Buddha, who has penetrated into the minds and thoughts of all beings, who moves about everywhere, who knows everything, who keeps himself away from works (*kriyā*) and forms (*lakṣhaṇa*); seeing him may I attain what I have not yet attained, [retain] what I have already gained, may I conduct myself with non-discrimination, abide in the joy of Samādhi (meditation) and Samāpatti (concordance), and attain to the ground where the Tathagatas walk, and in these make progress.

At that moment, the Blessed One recognising that the Lord of Lankā is to attain the Anutpattikadharmakṣhānti² showed his glorious compassion for the ten-headed one by making himself visible once more on the mountain-peak studded with many jewels and enveloped in a net-work of jewels. The ten-headed King of Lankā saw the splendour again as seen before on the mountain peak, [he saw] the Tathagata, who was the Arhat and the Fully-enlightened One, with the thirty-two marks of excellence beautifully adorning his person, and also saw himself on each mountain-

¹ The original text here as it stands does not seem quite intelligible to me. Hence I have followed the T'ang which generally gives the best reading.

² This is explained in my previous article on the *Lankavatara* in *The Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. IV, Nos. 3-4, p. 222 et seq.

peak, together with Mahāmāti, in front of the Tathagata, the Fully-enlightened One, putting forward his discourse on the realisation experienced by the Tathagata in his inmost self, and, surrounded by the Yakshas, conversing on the literary teaching, recitation, and story [of Buddhism?]. Those (13) [Buddha]-lands were seen with the Leaders.¹

Then the Blessed One beholding again this great assembly with his wisdom-eye, which is not the human eye, laughed loudly and most vigorously like the lion-king. Emitting rays of light from the tuft of hair between the eyebrows, from the ribs, from the loins, from the Śrivatsa² on the breast, and from every pore of the skin,—emitting rays of light which shone flaming like the fire taking place at the end of a kalpa, like a luminous rainbow, like the rising

¹ There is surely a discrepancy here in the text. T'ang reads: "In all the Buddha-lands in the ten quarters were also seen such events going on, and there was no difference whatever." Wei is quite different and has the following: "Besides, he saw all the Buddha-lands and all the kings thinking of the transitoriness of the body. As they are covetously attached to their thrones, wives, children, and relatives, they find themselves bound by the five passions and have no time for emancipation. Seeing this, they abandon their dominions, palaces, wives, concubines, elephants, horses, and precious treasures, giving them all up to the Buddha and his Brotherhood. They now retreat into the mountain-woods, leaving the home and wishing to study the doctrine. He [Rāvana] then sees the Bodhisattvas in the mountain woods strenuously applying themselves to the mastery of the truth, even to the extent of throwing themselves to the hungry tiger, lion, and Rakshasas. He thus sees the Bodhisattvas reading and reciting the sutras under a tree in the woods and discoursing on them for others, seeking thereby the truth of the Buddha. He then sees the Bodhisattvas seated under the Bodhi-tree in the Bodhi-maṇḍala thinking of the suffering beings and meditating on the truth of the Buddha. He then sees the venerable Mahāmāti the Bodhisattva before each Buddha preaching about the spiritual discipline of one's inner life, and also sees [the Bodhisattva] surrounded by all the Yakshas and families and talking about names, words, phrases, and paragraphs." This last sentence is evidently the translation of the Sanskrit *deśanāpāṭhakathām*, which is contrasted in the *Lankāvatāra* throughout with *pratyātmāryajñānagocara* (the spiritual realm realised by the supreme wisdom in one's inmost consciousness).

² Swastika.

sun, blazing brilliantly, gloriously—which were observed from the sky by Śakra, Brahmans, and the guardians of the world, the one who sat on the peak [of Lankā] vying with Mount Sumeru laughed a loudest laugh. At that time the assembly of the Bodhisattvas together with Śakra and Brahmans, each thought within himself:

“For what reason, I wonder, from what cause does the Blessed One who is the master of all the world (*sarva-dharma-vaśavartin*), after smiling first,¹ laugh the loudest laugh? Why does he emit rays of light from his own body? Why, emitting [rays of light], does he remain silent, with the realisation [of the truth] in his inmost self, and absorbed deeply and showing no surprise in the bliss of Samādhi, and reviewing the [ten] quarters, looking around like the lion-king, and thinking only of the discipline, attainment, and performance of Rāvana?”

At that time, Mahāmati the Bodhisattva-mahāsattva who was previously requested by Rāvana [to ask the Buddha concerning his self-realisation], feeling pity on him, (14) and knowing the minds and thoughts of the assembly of the Bodhisattvas, and observing that beings to be born in the future would be confused in their minds because of their delight in the wordy teaching (*deśanāpāṭha*), because of their clinging to the letter as [fully in accordance with] the spirit (*artha*), because of their clinging to the disciplinary powers of the Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, and philosophers, —which might lead them to think how it were that the Tathagatas, the Blessed Ones, even in their transcendental state of consciousness should burst out into loudest laughter —Mahāmati, the Bodhisattva, asked the Buddha in order to put a stop to their inquisitiveness the following question: “For what reason, for what cause did this laughter take place?”

Said the Blessed One: “Well done, well done, O Mahāmati! Well done, indeed, for once more, O Mahāmati!

¹ This is wanting in the Chinese translations.

Viewing the world as it is in itself and wishing to enlighten the people in the world who are fallen into a wrong view of things in the three periods of time, thou undertakest to ask me the question. Thus should it be with the wise men who want to ask questions for both themselves and others. Rāvana, Lord of Lankā, O Mahāmatī, asked a twofold question of the Tathagatas of the past who are Arhats and perfect Buddhas; and he wishes now to ask me too a twofold question in order to have its distinction, attainment, and scope ascertained—this is what is never tasted by those who practise the meditations of the Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, and philosophers; and the same will be asked by the question-loving ten-headed one of the Buddhas to come.”

Knowing that, the Blessed One said to the Lord of Lankā, thus: “Ask, O thou, Lord of Lankā; the Tathagata has given thee permission [to ask], delay not, whatever questions thou desirest to have answered, I will answer each of them (15) with judgment to the satisfaction of thy heart. Keeping thy seat of thought free from [false] discrimination, observe well what is to be subdued at each stage; ponder things with wisdom; [seeing into] the nature of the inner principle in thyself, abide in the bliss of Samādhi; embraced by the Buddhas in Samādhi, abide in the bliss of tranquillisation; going behind the Samādhi and understanding attained by the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas, abide in [the attainment of the Bodhisattvas] in the stages of Acalā, Sādhumatī, and Dharmameghā; grasp well the egolessness of all things in its true significance; be anointed by the Buddhas [with the water] of Samādhi at the great palace of lotus-jewels. ¹Surrounded by the Bodhi-

¹ The following sentence is done by the aid of T'ang, as the Sanskrit does not seem to give any sense. Literally translated it reads: “There by the becoming lotuses, by those lotuses that are blessed variously by the benediction of his own person....” Wei has: “O King of Lankā, thou wilt before long see thy person, too, thus sitting on the lotus-throne and continuing to abide there in a most natural manner. There are innumerable families of lotus-kings and

sattvas who are sitting on lotuses of various sorts each supported by the gracious power of the Buddhas, thou wilt find thyself sitting on a lotus and each one of the Bodhisattvas looking at thee face to face. This is a realm beyond the imagination. Thou shouldst plan out an adequate plan and establish thyself at a stage of discipline by planning out such a plan as would include [all kinds of] skilful means, so that thou comest to realise that realm which is beyond imagination; and then thou wilt attain the stage of Tathagatahood in which one is able to manifest oneself in various forms, and which is something never seen before by the Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, philosophers, Brahmins, Indra, Upendra, and others.”

At that moment the Lord of Lankā being permitted by the Blessed One, rose from his seat on the peak of the jewel-mountain which shone like the jewel-lotus immaculate and glowing in splendour; he was surrounded by a company of celestial maidens of all kinds; garlands, flowers, perfumes, incense, unguents, umbrellas, banners, flags, neck-laces, half-necklaces, diadems, tiaras,—all in every possible variety, (16) and other ornaments too whose splendour and excellence were never heard of or seen before, were created; music was played surpassing anything that could be had by the gods, Nāgas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, and human beings; musical instruments were created equal to anything that could be had in all the World of Desire and also such superior musical instruments were created as were to be seen in the Buddha-lands; the Blessed One and the Bodhisattvas were enveloped in a net of jewels; a variety of dresses and high banners were raised high up in the air, as high as seven tālānga trees, to greet [the Buddha]; showering great clouds of offerings, playing music

innumerable families of Bodhisattvas there, each one of whom is sitting on a lotus-throne, and surrounded by those thou wilt find thyself and looking face to face at one another, and each one of them will before long come to abide in a realm beyond the understanding.”

which resounded [all around], and then descending from the air, [the Lord of Lankā] sat down on the peak of the jewel-mountain ornamented with magnificent jewel-lotus whose splendour was second only to the sun and lightning. Sitting he made courtesy, smiling first to the Blessed One for his permission, and proposed him a twofold question: "It was asked of the Tathagatas of the past, who were Arhats, Fully-enlightened Ones, and it was solved by them. O Blessed One, now I ask of thee; [the request] will certainly be complied with by thee as it was by the Buddhas [of the past] in wordy teaching.¹ O Blessed One, duality was discoursed upon by the Transformed Tathagatas and Tathagatas of Transformation, but not by the Tathagatas of Silence." The Tathagatas of Silence are absorbed in the blissful state of Samādhi, they do not discriminate concerning this state, nor do they discourse on it. O Blessed One, thou assuredly will discourse on this subject of duality. Thou art thyself a master of all things, an Arhat, a Tathagata. The sons of the Buddha and myself are anxious to listen to it."

The Blessed One said, "O Lord of Lankā, tell me what you mean by duality?"

The Lord of the Rakshasas, (17) who was renewed in his ornaments, full of splendour and beauty, with a diadem, bracelet, and necklace strung with vajra thread, said, "It is said that even dharmas are to be abandoned, and how much more adharma (no-dharma)! O Blessed One, why does this dualism exist that we are called to abandon? What are adharma? and what are dharmas? How can there be a duality of things to abandon? Does not duality arise from falling into discrimination, from discriminating self-substance where there is none, from [the idea of] things

¹ That is, as far as the teaching could be conveyed in words. *Deśanāpāṭha* stands in contrast with *siddhānta* or *pratyātmagatī* in the *Lankāvatāra*.

² In T'ang and Wei: "Original Tathagatas."

created and uncreated, because the non-differentiating nature of the Ālayavijñāna is not recognised? Like the seeing of a hair-circle as really existing in the air, [the notion of dualism] belongs to the realm of intellection not exhaustively purgated. This being the case as it should be, how could there be any abandonment [of dharmas and adharmas]?"

Said the Blessed One, "O Lord of Lankā, seest thou not that the differentiation of things, such as is perceived in jars and other breakable objects whose nature it is to perish in time, takes place in a realm of discrimination [cherished by] the ignorant? This being so, is it not to be so understood? It is due to discrimination [cherished by] the ignorant that there exists the differentiation of dharma and adharma. Supreme wisdom (*āryajñāna*), however, is not to be realised by seeing [things this way]. O Lord of Lankā, let it be so with the ignorant who follow the particularised aspect of existence that there are such objects as jars, etc., but it is not so with the wise. One flame of uniform nature rises up depending on houses, mansions, parks, and terraces, and burns them down; while a difference in the flames is seen according to the power of each burning material which varies in length, magnitude, etc. This being so, why (18) is it not to be so understood? The duality of dharma and adharma thus comes into existence. Not only is there seen a fire-flame spreading out in one continuity and yet showing a variety of flames, but from one seed, O Lord of Lankā, are produced, also in one continuity, stems, shoots, knots, leaves, petals, flowers, fruit, branches, all individualised. As it is with every external object from which grows [a variety of] objects, so also with internal objects. From Ignorance there develop the Skandhas, Dhātus, Āyatanas, with all kinds of objects accompanying, which grow out in the triple world where we have, as we see, happiness, form, speech, and behaviour, each differentiating [infinitely]. The oneness of the Vij-

ñāna is grasped variously according to the evolution of an objective world; thus there are things seen inferior, superior, or middling, things defiled or free from defilement, things good or bad. Not only, O Lord of Lankā, is there such a difference of conditions in things generally, there is also seen a variety of realisations attained innerly by each religious practiser as he treads the path of discipline which constitutes his practice. How much more difference in dharma and adharma do we not see in a world of particulars which is evolved by discrimination? Indeed, we do.

“O Lord of Lankā, the differentiation of dharma and adharma comes from discrimination. O Lord of Lankā, what are dharmas? That is, they are discriminated by the discriminations cherished by the philosophers, Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, and ignorant people. They think that the dharmas headed by Guṇa and Dravya are produced by causes—[these are the notions] to be abandoned. Such are not to be regarded [as real] because they are appearances. It comes from one’s clinging [to appearances] that the manifestations of his own mind are regarded as reality (*dharmatā*). (19) Such things as jars, etc., are products of discrimination conceived by the ignorant, they exist not; their substances are not attainable. The viewing of things from this viewpoint is known as their abandonment.

“What, then, are adharms? O Lord of Lankā, what we call dharmas are not attainable, they are not appearances born of discrimination, they are above causality; there is in them no such [dualistic] happening as is seen as reality and non-reality. This is known as the abandoning of dharmas. What again is meant by the unattainability of dharmas? That is, it is like horns of a hare, or ass, or camel, or horse, or a child conceived by a barren woman. They are dharmas the nature of which is unattainable; they are not to be thought [as real] because they are appearances. They are only talked about in popular parlance if they have any sense at all; they are not to be adhered to as

in the case of jars, etc. As these [unrealities] are to be abandoned as not comprehensible by the mind (*viññāna*), so are things (*bhāva*) of discrimination also to be abandoned. This is called the abandoning of dharma and adharma. O Lord of Lankā, your questioning as to the how of abandoning dharma and adharma is hereby answered.

“O Lord of Lankā, thou sayest again that thou hast asked [this question] of the Tathagatas of the past who were Arhats and Fully-enlightened Ones and that it was solved by them. O Lord of Lankā, that which is spoken of as the past belongs to discrimination; as the past is thus a discriminated [idea], even so are the [ideas] of the future and the present. Because of reality (*dharmatā*) the Tathagatas do not discriminate, they go beyond discrimination and futile reasoning, they do not follow (20) the individuation-aspect of forms, except when [reality] is disclosed for the edification of the unknowing and for the sake of their happiness.¹ It is by Prajñā that the Tathagata performs deeds transcending forms; therefore, what constitutes the Tathagatas in essence as well as in body is

¹ This is one of the most important sections in this first introductory chapter, but singularly all the three texts, perhaps excepting T'ang, present some difficulties for clear understanding. Wei: “O Lord of Lankā, what you speak of as past is a form of discrimination, and so are the future and the present also of discrimination. O Lord of Lankā, when I speak of the real nature of suchness as being real, it also belongs to discrimination; it is like discriminating forms as the ultimate limit. If one wishes to realise the bliss of real wisdom, let him discipline himself in the knowledge that transcends forms; therefore, do not discriminate the Tathagatas as having knowledge-body or wisdom-essence. Do not cherish any discrimination in [thy] mind. Do not cling in [thy] will to such notions as ego, personality, soul, etc. How not to discriminate? It is in the Manovijñāna that various conditions are cherished such as forms, figures, [etc.]; do not cherish such [discriminations]. Do not discriminate nor be discriminated. Further, O Lord of Lankā, it is like various forms painted on the wall, all sentient beings are such. O Lord of Lankā, all sentient beings are like grasses and trees, with them there are no acts, no deeds, O Lord of Lankā, all dharma and adharma, of them nothing is heard, nothing talked. O Lord of Lankā, all things in the world are like māyā....”

wisdom (*jñāna*). They do not discriminate, nor are they discriminated. Wherefore do they not discriminate in the Manas? Because discrimination is of the self, of soul, of personality. How do they not discriminate in the Manovijñāna? [The Manovijñāna] is meant for the objective world where causality prevails as referred to forms, appearances, conditions, and figures. Therefore, discrimination and non-discrimination must be transcended.

“O Lord of Lankā, and that which comes out in manifestation is [like] a figure inlaid in a wall, it has no sensibility [or consciousness]. O Lord of Lankā, all that is in the world is devoid of work and action because all things have no reality, and there is nothing heard, nothing hearing. O Lord of Lankā, all that is in the world is [like] an image magically transformed. This is not comprehended by the philosophers and the ignorant. O Lord of Lankā, he who thus sees things, is the one who sees truthfully. Those who see things otherwise walk in discrimination; as they depend on discrimination, they cling to dualism. It is like seeing one's own image reflected in a mirror, or one's own shadow in the water, or in the moon-

T'ang: “O Lord of Lankā, what you speak of as past is no more than discrimination, so is the future; I too am like him. [Is this to be read, “the present, too, is like it”?] O Lord of Lankā, the teaching of all the Buddhas is outside discrimination; as it goes beyond all discriminations and futile reasonings, it is not a form of particularisation, it is realised only by wisdom. That [this absolute] teaching is at all discoursed about is for the sake of giving bliss to all sentient beings. The discoursing is done by the wisdom transcending forms. It is called the Tathagata; therefore, the Tathagata has his essence, his body in this wisdom. He thus does not discriminate, nor is he to be discriminated. Do not discriminate him after the notions of ego, personality, or being. Why this impossibility of discrimination? Because the Manovijñāna is aroused on account of an objective world wherein it attaches itself to forms and figures. Therefore, [the Tathagata] is outside the discriminating [view] as well as the discriminated [idea]. O Lord of Lankā, it is like beings painted in colours on a wall, they have no sensibility [or intelligence]. Sentient beings in the world are also like them; no acts, no rewards [are with them]. So are all the teachings, no hearing, no preaching.”

light, or seeing one's shadow in the house, or hearing an echo in the valley. People grasping their own shadows of discrimination (21) uphold the discrimination of dharma and adharma, and, failing to carry out the abandonment of the dualism, they go on discriminating and never attain tranquillity. By tranquillity is meant oneness, and oneness gives birth to the highest Samādhi, which is gained by entering into the womb of Tathagatahood, which is the realm of supreme wisdom realised in one's inmost self."

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

A STUDY IN THE PURE LAND DOCTRINE, AS INTERPRETED BY SHŌKŪ, THE FOUNDER OF THE SEIZAN BRANCH OF THE PURE LAND SECT

I

During the latter half of the twelfth century, when in Europe the Pope's influence was at its height and all his followers were engaged fervently in the recovery of the Holy Land, here in Japan the old institutional Buddhism was in its course of downfall due to its own inner corruptions, and a newly-grown spirit was waging war against it. It was during this time of struggle that Hōnen (1133-1212), destined to be the father of all the Pure Land schools in Japan, founded an independent sect of Jodo, the Pure Land sect.

Among the many works and sayings of Hōnen, the "Ichimai Kishōmon" (One-Sheet Document), which was given as the last message to Genchi(源智), one of his disciples, well expresses the central idea of his doctrine. It runs thus: "By Nembutsu I do not mean such practice of meditation on the Buddha as is referred to by the wise men of China and Japan, nor is it the invocation of the Buddha's name, which is practised as the result of study and understanding as to the meaning of Nembutsu. It is just to invoke the name of Amida, without doubting that this will issue in the rebirth¹ of the believer in the Pure Land. Just this, and no other considerations are required. Men-

¹ Rebirth throughout this article stands for the Japanese *Ōjō*. *Ōjō* means "to leave this world and be reborn in the Pure Land, or the Tushita heaven, or the world of Kwannon, or some other worlds." There are many different views as to the nature of the Pure Land. They are, however, commonly divisible into two: the one holds that the Pure Land is reliable in the present life and exists as an idea or as a higher ideal world; the other thinks that the land is where we shall be reborn after death.

tion is often made of the threefold heart¹ and the four manners of exercise,² but these are all included in the belief that a rebirth in the Pure Land is most conclusively assured by the *Namu-Amida-Butsu*. If one imagines something more than this, one will be excluded from the blessings of the two Holy Ones, Amida and Sakyamuni, and left out of the Original Vow. Those who believe in the *Nembutsu*, however learned they may be in all the teachings of Sakyamuni, shall behave themselves like an ignoramus who knows nothing, or like a simple-hearted woman-devotee: avoid pedantry, and invoke the Buddha's name with singleness of heart."

This document gives Hōnen's idea in a nutshell, but there are many points which are very likely to be disputed. For example, Why is the *Nembutsu* the best of all works? Why must we cast away all other good works? Even if the *Nembutsu* is taken for granted as the best work, is it necessary to invoke the Buddha's name so continuously throughout one's life, or is it sufficient to invoke it just for once? Towards these questions, Hōnen assumed a rather liberal attitude, in which there was room enough for controversy. In fact, he explained these points sometimes in one way and sometimes in another. To him, as I interpret, the invocation of the name of Amida without doubting that it will issue in the rebirth of the believer in the Pure Land, is the alpha and omega of his faith, and nothing else is

¹ The threefold heart (*sanjin*, 三心), the spiritual preparations for the rebirth in the Pure Land, recommended in the Meditation Sutra. (1) The most sincere heart (*shijōshin*, 至誠心), (2) the deep heart (*jīnshin*, 深心), and (3) the heart wishing for a rebirth in the Pure Land (*ekōhotsugwanshin*, 廻向發願心). As to the interpretation of this threefold heart, see page 90 et seq.

² The four manner of exercise (*shishū* 四修) or the four ways of practising the *Nembutsu* are prescribed in Zendo's "Hymn to the Rebirth" (*Ōjōraisan* 往生禮讚). (1) The practice with profound reverence (*kugyōshū* 恭敬修), (2) the practice of the *Nembutsu*, and nothing else (*muyōshū* 無餘修), (3) the practice of the *Nembutsu* continuously without interruption (*mulēnshū* 無間修), and (4) the continued practice throughout one's whole life (*jōjishū* 長時修).

needed. For it is in accordance with the Original Vow of Amida, who vowed that those who sincerely believed in him and earnestly desired to be reborn in his Pure Land and invoked his name for once up to ten times, should assuredly be reborn there; if they were not reborn, he would not attain Buddhahood. Hōnen believed in this in the most simple way and invoked the name of Amida, without being bothered with such questions as were mentioned before. His faith in Amida was a most practical one, and there was no need for him to inquire into the why of his faith which is above logic. This is where lies the mystical element of religion.

To his disciples, however, this was not enough. While the master still lived and his personality was the truth of his doctrine, it needed no interpretation. By his death, however, the doctrine became detached from its living background and was to be supported by argument. This was the task of his disciples; and they did it each in his own way according to his light and individual experience. In this manner, there arose many different schools of the Pure Land doctrine which with Hōnen had been one.

Of these many schools, we can distinguish six most prominently standing out, three of which, however, died away in course of time, but the remaining three are still in a flourishing state. One of them, the Shin, under the leadership of Shinran, became separated from all the rest, forming an independent sect, while the other two came to be known as different branches of the one Jōdo sect. One of them going under the name of Chinzei (鎮西) was established by Benchō (辨長), and the other called the Seizan (西山) branch has Shōkū (證空) for its founder.

The table on page 82 will help the reader to understand the development of the Pure Land doctrine after Hōnen.

I intend in the following pages to sketch the life and works of Shōkū, and to give an outline of his doctrine chiefly according to his "Book of Five Chapters," *Godanshō* (五段章).

| | | Principal tenets | | The significance of works: |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|--|--|
| | | Faith regarded as: | Denomination | |
| Those who put more stress on faith: | Kōsai, 幸西 (1163-1247), | The correspondence of our minds with the wisdom of Amida, by virtue of our relying upon his Vow. | Jōdo Sect, Ichinen Doctrine (now extinct); | (No records left of his views.) |
| | Shiran, 親鸞 (1173-1262), | Obeying the summons of Amida, who, in the form of his name, gives us faith and works for our rebirth; | Shin Sect; | Amida's works become our own; the invocation of his name is nothing but the expression of our gratitude for salvation. |
| | Shōkū, 證空 (1177-1247), | The understanding of the truth that Buddha-substance is our works for our rebirth; | Jōdo Sect, Seizan Branch; | Our works become Amida's own; and, therefore, we must endeavour to do all good works, according to our capabilities. |
| | Benchō, 辨長 (1162-1238), | The mental attitude towards the Nembutsu; | Jōdo Sect, Chinzei Branch; | (1) Constant invocation of Amida's name is the right work; (2) Other good works are subsidiary. |
| Those who put more stress on works: | Ryūkwan, 隆寬 (1148-1227), | ditto; | Jōdo Sect, Chōrakuji Branch (now extinct); | (1) Life wholly devoted to the invocation of the name of Amida only; (2) Other works are disregarded. |
| | Chōsai, 長西 (1184-1228), | ditto; | Jōdo Sect, Kuhonji Branch (now extinct); | (1) Constant invocation of the name of Amida; (2) Other good works are as of the same efficacy. |

II

Shōkū, whose other name was Zennebō (善慧房), was born in 1177 and entered the priesthood under Hōnen at the age of fourteen. He studied besides the Pure Land doctrine other schools of Buddhism, the Tendai (天台) under Gwanren (願蓮), and the Taimitsu¹ (台密) under Seishun (政春) and Jien (慈圓). He was ordained by Hōnen with the rite called Endontaikai² (圓頓大戒), and was given by Kōen (公圓) what is known as Baptism of Law-transmission, Denbo Kwanchō (傳法灌頂).

In his twenty-second year, he was employed by his master as one of the revisers of the *Senjakushū*³ (選擇集), the most important text-book of the Jōdo sect, and lectured on it by the order of his master in the following year at the residence of Kujō Kanazane (九條兼實), who was then the prime minister. Some years later, he wrote the *Kwagyō Shō Shiki* (觀經疏私記), the "Private Notes on Zendo's Commentary on the Meditation Sutra," being entreated by Fujiwara Michiye (藤原道家), another high court dignitary. After his master's death, he resided at Ōjō-in (往生院) in the west of Kyōto; hence the name of Seizan, meaning "western hills."

It is said that he applied himself most diligently to the study of Zendo's Commentary on the Meditation Sutra, which he read day and night until he actually wore out three copies of it. It is also said that his lectures were not based on the literal meaning of the text, but singularly they

¹ The Taimitsu is an esoteric part of the Japanese Tendai.

² The Endontaikai, Great Spiritual Code of Morality in Mahayana Buddhism. The ordination taken place according to this rite is considered to qualify the ordained as belonging to the order of Bodhisattvas.

³ The *Senjakushū*, a work by Hōnen. The collection of the selected passages from various sutras, śāstras, and commentaries, with his notes, (hence the name *Senjakushū* 選擇集), arranged in order to show why we must believe in the doctrine of the Pure Land and how we must practise the Nembutsu.

coincided with the teaching of the *Hanjusan*¹ (般舟讚), which is one of the works of Zendō, but which was only afterwards discovered in the library of Ninnaji (仁和寺). Shōkū had a speculative turn of mind, gained many followers from among the upper classes, and a temple called Kwangishinin (歡喜心院) was founded for him by the order of the Emperor Gosaga (後嵯峨). He wrote an expository book on the Jodo doctrine, the *Chinkwan Yōjin* (鎮勸用心),² by the earnest request of Dōkaku, prince-abbot of the Tendai. The Empress Dowager was also interested in the Nembutsu, and for her Shōkū wrote several papers on the subject; the book called *Nyoin Goshō* (女院御書)³ contains them, besides some of his letters addressed to a noble disciple of his. He passed away in 1247 at the age of seventy-one. The posthumous title, Kanchi Kokushi (鑑智國師), was given to him in the eighth year of Kwansei (寛政).

His chief works are:

1. *Kwammon Yōgi Shō* (觀門要義鈔), 43 vols., called "Jihitsushō" (自筆抄). This is a commentary on Zendō's works.⁴ Here he tries to interpret the whole system of Buddhism under three headings: (1) Gyōmon (行門), (2) Kwammon (觀門), and (3) Gugwan (弘願). According to him, (1) all the doctrines of Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism except the teaching of the Meditation Sutra are called Gyōmon (i.e., "Exercise Gate"); for though they are diversified, they are all one in trying to attain Buddhahood by

¹ The *Hanjusan*, 1 vol., by Zendō. The full title is the *Hanjusammāi-gyōdō-ōjōsan* (般舟三昧行道往生讚), Hymn to the Rebirth by the Continuous Samadhi, *Pratyutpanna-samādhi*.

² The *Chinkwan Yōjin*, 1 vol., The Exhortation to and the Warnings in the Practice of the Nembutsu.

³ The *Nyoin Goshō*, 2 vols., the Letters to the Emperor Dowager.

⁴ Zendō's works are as follows: 1. The commentary on the Meditation Sutra (觀無量壽經疏), 4 vols.; 2. Hymns on the Adoration of the Rebirth (往生禮讚偈), 1 vol.; 3. Hymns on the Rebirth by the Continuous Samadhi (般舟讚), 1 vol.; 4. On the Ways of Meditating on Amida (觀念法門), 1 vol.; 5. Hymns on the Religious Rite (法事讚), 2 vols.

one's own efforts. (2) The teaching of the Meditation Sutra is called Kwammon (i.e., "Illumination Gate"); for it makes manifest Amida's merciful Vow by means of two forms of good work and a series of sixteen meditations. (3) By Gugwan is meant "Amida's Vow of Boundless Mercy", which is the essence of the Meditation Sutra. When the teaching of Buddha is thus systematised, Shōkū thinks that the ultimate aim of Buddhism is to make us realise that our own efforts are not strong enough for being reborn in the Pure Land and that only by believing in Amida's boundless love can we all attain Buddhahood.

2. "Tahitsushō" (他筆抄), 10 vols., is also a commentary on Zendo's works. The lectures delivered in his later years were taken down, so it is said, by one of his disciples and made into a book, hence "Tahitsusho" meaning a book "penned by another." Here he uses the new terms, Kengyo (顯行) and Jikwan (示觀), corresponding to Gyomon and Kwammon. There is another pair of terms, Shōin (正因) and Shōgyo (正行), which he uses in this text to express his understanding of the relation between faith (*anjin*) and works (*kigyō*). Shōin, the "right cause", is our faith in Amida's Original Vow, which is one in us all, while Shōgyo, the "right exercise", may vary with each of us according to his capability.

3. *Kwangyō Hiketsu Shū* (觀經秘決集), 2 vols., a commentary on the Meditation Sutra.

4. *Mandara Chūki* (曼陀羅註記), 10 vols., an explanation of Taema Mandala (當麻曼陀羅).

5. *Senjakushu Mitsuyōketsu* (選擇集密要決), 5 vols., a commentary on the *Senjakushu*.

6. *Shijuhachigwan Yōshakushō* (四十八願要釋抄), 2 vols., notes on the forty-eight vows of Amida.

7. *Shugyō Yōketsu* (修業要決), 1 vol., a brief commentary on Zendo's work.

Of these works, the first two are called Kyōsō-bu-no-Sho (教相部の書), books of "theoretical" explanation, con-

trasted to the other works known as "the Thirty-eight Volumes" of "symbolical" explanation, Jisōbu-no-Sho (事相部の書). There are, besides these, many other works also treating of the Nembutsu.

III

True to the spirit of Buddhism, Shōkū's doctrine starts from the actual state of things, which is far from being ideal and in which we are all suffering according to the law of karma. Shōkū first quotes a passage from the Meditation Sutra: "This world is a world defiled with five kinds of corruption¹ (*pañca-kashāyāḥ*), and filled with hell-dwellers, hungry-ghosts, and animals, and nothing good is found in it." According to Zendō, a commentator of the Meditation Sutra, we have: "This *sahaloka* (a world of patience) is a world of pain, inhabited in confusion by all kinds of wickedness, consumed like fire one after another by the eight kinds of pain, always inclined to create mutual enmity, smilingly practising a false friendship and always pursued by the robbers of the six senses;² it is like a burning pit where the three evils² are ready to devour all beings."

¹ The five corruptions (*gojoku* 五濁) are: (1) the corruption of the time (*kōjoku* 劫濁), the degenerate age, full of calamities, Sk. *kalpa-kashāyā*. (2) the corruption of thought (*kenjoku* 見濁), men have wrong ideas and superstitions, Sk. *dr̥shiti-kashāyā*. (3) the corruption of falling (*bonnōjoku* 煩惱濁), men are full of passions evil and defiled, Sk. *kleśa-k*. (4) the corruption of the person (*shujōjoku* 衆生濁), men's bodies become weak and their characters degenerate, Sk. *sattva-k*. (5) the corruption of life (*myōjoku* 命濁), man's life is shortened, Sk. *ayus-k*. Cf. Max Müller *Smaller Sukhāvitī-vyūha* § 18 (S.B.E. vol. XLIX).

² The six senses. According to the Buddhist psychology, there are six organs (*rokkukon* 六根), six objects (*rokkukyo* 六境), and six consciousnesses (*rokushiki* 六識). Besides the ordinary five organs (eye, ear, nose, tongue, and body), the organ adapted for recognising the general aspect of object is added as the sixth. Corresponding to these six organs, there are six objects, viz. the worlds of sight, of hearing, of smell, of taste, or touch, and of idea. Also according to these six objects, there are six consciousnesses, i.e., the consciousnesses

Further, reflecting on the brevity of this life and filled with anxieties for the future, Shōkū adds: "This triple world is indeed a composite world. It is in its nature a transitory existence, not waiting for one's exhaling breath to return; at every instant the three evils accumulate their own rewards; and whatever form of the four existences¹ life may assume, there is no permanency in it. Whosoever is born is sure to die. Alas! life passes like lightning and it is like a drop of dew on the blade of grass, waiting to dry up in the morning sun. Alas! the body is like a leaf before the wind, and it is again like the morning-glory which withers before the evening comes. In this temporary abode of the five aggregates,² the occupant is like a traveller who migrates through the six paths of existence.³ While a spirit, wandering in the intermediate realm⁴ (the Buddhist Purgatory), is left alone to find its transitory fate, the

of sight, of hearing, of smell, of taste, of touch, and of idea. Above all the six objects are called the six robbers, for they rob us of the light of wisdom.

The three evils, (*sandoku* 三毒) (1) covetousness (2) anger (3) folly.

¹ The four existences (*shishō*, 四生) are as follows: (1) womb-birth, e.g. animals. (Sk. *jarayuja*). (2) egg-birth, e.g. birds. (Sk. *andaja*). (3) moisture-birth, e.g. insects. (Sk. *samsvedaja*). (4) metamorphosis-birth, e.g. Bodhisattvas. (Sk. *upapaduka*). *Kusharon*, vol. VII.

² The five aggregates (*go-un* 五蘊). Man is conceived to be made up of the following five elements,—viz. matter, sensation, thought, action, and consciousness. So long as these elements continue to combine with one another, man's life lasts, but when they separate, man's life comes to an end.

³ The six paths of existence (*rokudō*, 六道). In Buddhist cosmology, the worlds where one's soul migrates are divided into three, viz., the world of desire, the world of form, and the world of no-form; from another point of view these three worlds are divided into the six paths of existence, namely, hell, the abode of hungry-ghosts, the animal world, the asura world, the human world, and heaven. For particulars see S. Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scripture*, p. 18.

⁴ The intermediate realm (*chyūn* 中有), one of the four modes of existence. (1) Birth (2) Existence proper (3) Death (4) The intermediate realm, of which the last one is mentioned as the period

decaying substances and bones are exposed in the wilderness. Pleasure, human as well as celestial, passes away like a dream or a vision. Sorrows due to the eight pains¹ are soon upon us, and woes from the five fadings² lose no time to assail us. Hell and the animal world wait upon us as the reward of our evil deeds. There we suffer in the eight scorching and eight freezing hells.³ There a mutual enmity

when one is dead in the past world and is not yet born in the next. The body of one in this state of existence is as big as that of a child five or six years old, and consists of minute elements of purity, invisible to our physical eyes. There are various views concerning the duration of this state: some say it lasts for a week, others say it lasts for forty-nine days; some say it is only for a moment, others say that it is indefinite.

¹ The eight pains, pains in the human world. (1) Pain of birth (*shōku* 生苦), Sk. *jātir-duḥkham*; (2) Pain of age (*rōku* 老苦), Sk. *jara-d*; (3) Pain of sickness (*byōku* 病苦), Sk. *vyadhi-d*; (4) Pain of death (*shiku* 死苦), Sk. *manana-d*; (5) Pain of parting with loved ones or objects of affection, (*aijetsuriku* 愛別離苦), Sk. *priyavisamprayoge-d*; (6) Pain of meeting with what one dislikes (*onsōeku* 怨憎會苦), Sk. *apriyasamprayoge-d*; (7) Pain of not obtaining what one seeks (*gufutokku* 求不得苦), Sk. *yad apicchaya paryshamano na labhate tad api-d*; (8) Pain of the five powerful elements, that is, the body itself produces pain (*goonjōku* 五蘊盛苦), Sk. *samskhepena pañcopadanaskandha-d*.

² The five fadings in heavenly beings (天人五衰) who live in the lower heavens. These signs appear when they are doomed to die. (1) Defilement of clothes, (2) Withering of the flowers on their heads, (3) Bad smell in the body, (4) Perspiration under the arm-pits, (5) Dislike of the proper seat. There is another kind of the five fadings smaller one as it is called, (1) Cessation of musical voice, (2) Disappearance of the light from the body, (3) Sticking to the body of bathing water, (4) Attachment to objects, (5) Blinking of the eyes.

³ The eight scorching and eight freezing hells. The scorching ones are as follows: (1) *tōkwatsu* (等活), Sk. *samjiva*; (2) *kokujo* (黑繩), *kalasutra*; (3) *shūgō* (衆合), *samghata*; (4) *kyōkwan* (叫喚), *raurava*; (5) *daikyōkwan* (大叫喚), *mahaurava*; (6) *shōnetsu* (焦熱), *tapana*; (7) *daishōnetsu* (大焦熱), *pratapana*; (8) *muken* (無間), *avici*. The eight freezing ones are as follows: (1) *abuda* (菴部陀), Sk. *arbuda*; (2) *nirabuda* (尼刺部陀), Sk. *nirarbuda*; (3) *atata* (阿吒訖), Sk. *atata*; (4) *gogoba* (嚕々婆), Sk. *hahava*; (5) *kokoba* (虎々婆), Sk. *huhuba*; (6) *upara* (嚙鉢羅), Sk. *utpara*; (7) *guren* (紅蓮), Sk. *padma*; (8) *daiguren* (大紅蓮), Sk. *mahapadma*.

takes place and famine prevails. An iron rod crushes the bones and a forest of swords cuts deeply into the flesh. The hell-keepers and rakshas will keep their ever-watchful and angry eyes upon us, and the prisoners cry out in utmost agony. Ye, fools! that ye should suffer for ever the pains of the three evil states of existence for the sake of worldly gain and reputation. Ye, ignorant ones! unless ye get out of the painful sea of birth and death while enjoying life, how in the future do ye expect to reach the yonder shore of enlightenment? Therefore, ye should loathe the triple world and the six states of existence in order to enter the gate of eternal bliss."

IV

Those who are weary of this world, would naturally seek a world where there is no pain and suffering whatever. an ideal world worth our living. The Pure Land is such a world of values. Shōkū expresses the idea in the following way: "To Vaidehī,¹ who wished to abandon this world in order to be reborn in a Pure Land, Sakyamuni showed her all the Pure Lands in the ten quarters. But as all the Pure Lands other than the western one do not permit those who are contaminated with evil passions, Vaidehī chose the latter as the place for her future rebirth. That Sakyamuni specially disclosed the one which is situated in the west beyond thousands of millions of lands, was due to his boundless mercy; for this enables all sentient beings to orient their place of rebirth, setting their bewildered thoughts at ease."

Now, according to Shōkū, there are three ways of conceiving the western Pure Land. The first points to the one in our inner minds, which is, however, regarded as in the

¹ Vaidehī (Idai, 韋提), the queen of Bimbishāra (Bimbashara, 頻婆娑羅). The heroine in the tragedy in the palace of Magadha. Persecuted by her own son, she became weary of this world and desired to be reborn in the Pure Land.. To this, The Meditation Sutra owes its origin.

west; the second is this world itself; and the third is an ideal world which, however, actually appeared to the visions of Vaidehī. The Pure Land which is in our mind is the conception of the Shingon sect, according to which this mind is immediate knowledge itself, Myōkwansattchi (妙觀察智 *pratyavekṣhaṇā-jñānam*), and is represented by Amida, while this body is the abode of the Buddha, not distinguishable from his Pure Land, as no other Pure Lands are conceivable than this body itself. The second Pure Land belongs to the Tendai, where it is conceived as a world not actually existing in its ultimate sense but existing as a relative or provisional one, that is, as the world of the Nirmāṇakāya.¹ The third Pure Land is a land of compensation which has two senses; according to the first it is one specially sought after as the most splendid and glorious of all the Pure Lands, whereas according to the other sense it is one produced by the special Vow of Amida for the sake of defiled women and sinful beings. This last is the land where all the Pure Land followers desire to be reborn.

V

By what means can we reach the land of Amida? Shōkū says: "According to the Meditation Sutra, a threefold heart is needed, the most sincere heart, the deep heart, and the heart wishing for a rebirth in the Pure Land; and those in whom the heart functions thus in threefold way are sure to be reborn in the Pure Land of Amida. Both Zēndō and Hōnen are quite emphatic in their insistence on these spiritual preparations as recommended in the Sutra."

How is this threefold heart to be awakened? Shōkū goes on to say that the followers of the Pure Land doctrine differ² in their views as to the interpretation of what this

¹ Nirmāṇakāya, Jap. *ōjin* 應身, lit the adaptation-body, i.e. body transformed so as to be intelligible to human beings. One of the Trikāyas (*Dharma-k.*, *Sambhoga-k.*, and the *Nirmana-k.*).

² Generally speaking, this threefold heart shows that we must give up the confidence in "Self-Power" and enter into the faith of the

heart is, but the view presented below is in accordance with that of Hōnen himself, which is explained in one of his epistles as regards the awakening of the heart towards the Nembutsu.

By the first, the most sincere heart, we get away from the dominating idea of "Self-Power," which is cherished by those who do not understand the futility of works as the means of attaining to Buddhahood; for the Buddha is conceived by them as one who keeps himself away from them and to whom they do not stand in an intimate relationship; for this reason they want to win Buddha over to their side by their own efforts. Shōkū interprets: "The most sincere heart means truthfulness, straightforwardness, and simplicity. It is said in the Sutra that Bodhisattva Dharmākara, while he was yet in his disciplinary stage, practised six virtues of perfection in their multitudinous aspects, and our truthfulness consists in recognising that the Bodhisattva practised all these deeds in perfect sincerity. We read again in the Sutra that the Bodhisattva vowed that if those beings in the ten quarters should believe in him with serene thoughts, and should wish to be reborn in his country, and should have thought of him [or repeated his name], say, ten times, and if they should then not be reborn there he might not obtain the perfect knowledge; our truthfulness consists in recognising that the Bodhisattva vowed this with "Other-Power." So much is the same in all the Pure Land doctrines. But the so-called "Other-Power" does not mean the same idea in all of them. According to the Chinzei Branch, it is the help of Amida which is given to the devotee to make him accomplish the good deeds of his own efforts, in order that he may get into the Land of Amida; for it is believed in that Branch that we are not so bad that we cannot be converted, so we must strive to be sincere and good. According to the other Pure Land doctrine, the Shin sect, it is the gift from Amida to us by which we are capable to be reborn in that Land, as our own works are of no purpose; for it is believed in that sect that we are so bad that we cannot be converted, so we cannot enter the Pure Land without Amida's gift. Therefore, in the Shin sect, this threefold heart is Buddha's heart which is to be given to us, while in Chinzei this means our determination to be good by the help of Amida.

serenity of thought. By a heart being straightforward is meant to perceive that all our works, however good they may seem to us, are no means of rebirth into the land of Amida. Truthfulness is to admit honestly what is impossible for us to accomplish as being really so. When we know how truthfully the Bodhisattva vowed for our salvation, we can get away from attachments and false judgments. By attachment is meant our own human efforts to get rid of what we consider a confused state of mind, to practise good works with a heart we consider pure, and by these means to wish to be reborn in the Pure Land. When we find out that we are too weak to break a piece of wood, we stop taking further steps to accomplish the impossible; in like manner, when we find out that we are too weak to break the stick of evil passions as the three poisonous desires are too strong, we do not trouble ourselves any further about them. To realise this fact on our part is truthfulness.

He goes on: "Untruthfulness on our part as mortal beings though outwardly affecting to be wise, good, and ever-striving, means the heart entirely false. We are false, avaricious, wrathful, and deceitful; we cannot stop wrong doing like vipers and reptiles. Even if we endeavour to do good works for all our lives and wish thereby to be taken up in the Land of Purity we cannot attain the end. For we cannot be truthful in its religious sense, as Zendo says, 'Even when we attempt to do good works throughout the course of our lives with the utmost energy and in good earnest, as if putting out fire on our own heads, we cannot call these truthful because they are tainted with the poison of evil desire and falsehood.' There is, however, a way to do away with false attachments. When the latter are converted into the knowledge of Buddha as embodying absolute truthfulness we participate in his truthfulness. The truthful heart means the acknowledgment of evil deeds as due to the karma of transmigration, and of the so-called good works as not really so, and not to be led astray by mere words, good or bad.

When this is truly understood we get into the truthfulness of Amida's heart. When we are thus made truthful and sincere, we begin to loathe this world and desire the Pure Land, ceasing from doing evil deeds and carrying out all good works like Bodhisattvas. So we obtain sincerity of heart."

The second, the deep heart, is to get a new standpoint, which is held by those who know their own impotence to attain Buddhahood by performing any good works and who realise how closely they stand towards Buddha and do not keep him away at a distance. The reason that makes us stand closely towards Amida is this: Our rebirth in the Pure Land is not possible apart from the fact that Buddha attained Buddhahood, and this fact proves in its turn that Buddhahood and rebirth are two aspects of one truth. Both Amida's enlightenment and our rebirth must thus be said to have been accomplished simultaneously. Why is this so? Because Amida, while he was in his Bodhisattvahood, vowed that we should be reborn in his Land, through the merit of good works carried out by himself, and finally through this merit he attained enlightenment, proving that our rebirth is thus made an accomplished fact. Therefore, when we are sincerely devoted to him he enters into our own hearts where he attains his enlightenment and where our rebirth is assured at the same time. To be confirmed in this belief is the deep heart.

Shōkū says: "The second, the deep heart, is a heart to believe firmly and devotedly in the Original Vow. When we gain this belief, we realise what Amida first intended in making his Vow. The belief is analysable into two components. The one is to know "self" and the other is to believe in Buddha. According to Zendo, we have: 'The first belief is to know decidedly and believe firmly that we are sinful mortals suffering the pain of birth and death from time immemorial, wandering through the six paths of existence, and knowing no clue whatever as to the way to

escape from transmigration.' Even when we perform all kinds of good works so called, we do not perform them with a truthful heart, that is, an idea of selfishness is always mixed in them, and thereby we are utterly unable to get out of the round of birth and death. To believe thus that we cannot get out of this transmigration by our own efforts is to know 'self.'

"Next, the belief in Buddha is to know decidedly and to believe firmly [as Zendo says], that Amida's forty-eight Vows do really save us, and that when we, undoubtingly and without hesitation, board the boat of the Original Vow we are most assuredly conveyed to the yonder shore of enlightenment. It is to know decidedly and believe firmly that the Original Vow of Amida is the Vow that saves us, that the doctrine of Sakyamuni teaches this, that all other Buddhas testify uniformly to this truth. It is to know decidedly and believe firmly that Amida's Vow will turn us into those who enjoy the five wisdoms¹ and five insights,² even though we may be committing the five deadly sins³

¹ The five wisdoms (五智) of Buddha: (1) Buddha-wisdom (*butchi* 佛智), (2) inconceivable wisdom (*fushigichi* 不思議智), (3) unspeakable wisdom (*fukashōchi* 不可稱智), (4) unlimited wisdom (*daijokochi* 大乘廣智), (5) culminating wisdom unequalled and unparalleled (*mutomurinsaijōshochi* 無等無倫最上勝智).

² The five insights (五眼) of Buddha. (1) physical eye (*nikugen* 肉眼), (2) celestial eye (*tengen* 天眼), (3) dharma eye (*hogen* 法眼), (4) wisdom eye (*egen* 慧眼), (5) Buddha eye (*butsugen* 佛眼).

³ The five deadly sins (*gogyaku* 五逆), Sk. *pañcanantaryāni*: (1) Killing one's father (*shifu* 殺父) *pitṛghata*, (2) Killing one's mother (*shimo* 殺母) *matṛghata*, (3) Killing an Arhat (*shirakwan* 殺羅漢) *arhadavadha*, (4) Wounding the Buddha's body (*suidushinketsu* 出佛身血) Sk. *tathāgata-syantike dushtacitta rūdhīrot padana*, (5) Breaking the peace of Brotherhood (*hawagōsō* 破和合僧), Sk. *sangha-bheda*.

There is another set of five deadly sins which are prohibited in the Mahayana sutras: (1) Destroying temples, pagoda, scriptures, or images; stealing things belonging to the Three Sacred Treasures; making others do the same, and looking on with a glad heart; (2) Reviling the Buddha's laws, whether of the Lesser or Greater

and the ten evil deeds,¹ and though women may be labouring under the five obstructions.² The Vow will turn the evil passions into the marks of Buddhahood. The essence of the Vow is *Namu-Amida-Butsu*.

“*Namu* means ‘to trust,’ and ‘to trust’ is to believe in the power of the Vow, and that Amida will embrace such a believer because Amida is Love itself. When this belief on our part, which is *Namu*, is attained, the Buddha’s mercy is realised in it, which is distinguished as *Butsu* in the *Namu-Amida-Butsu*. The attainment of belief and the realisation of mercy are one, being two aspects of one experience. Further, Buddha means enlightenment, unfathomable wisdom. When this wisdom is realised in our hearts, we are enlightened. Sakyamuni and all other Buddhas are thus one in the attainment of *Namu-Amida-Butsu*. As they are all one, thus of one and identical body of enlightenment, we who get into this state, also participate in Amida’s own enlightenment. We are then said to be reborn in the Land of Amida by the power of Amida’s Original Vow, and on the part of Amida we can say that his Buddhahood is realised through our belief in him. It is, therefore, we may say, that there is no Amida’s enlightenment apart from Vehicles; (3) Persecuting the Buddhist priest; (4) Committing any of the five deadly sins (above-mentioned one); (5) Denying the laws of moral causation, not only being addicted oneself to the ten evil deeds, but also leading others to such sins.

¹ The ten evil deeds, (*jūaku* 十惡), Sk. *dasakushalāni*: (1) Killing (*sesshō* 殺生), (2) Stealing (*chyūtō* 偷盜), (3) Committing adultery (*jain* 邪淫), (4) Lying (*mōgo* 妄語), (5) Using the hypocritical speech (*kigo* 綺語), (6) Equivocation (*ryōzetsu* 兩舌), (7) Slandering (*akku* 惡口), (8) Covetousness (*tonyoku* 貪慾), (9) Anger (*shinni* 瞋恚), (10) Ignorance (*guchi* 愚痴).

² The five obstructions of women (*goshō* 五障): (1) She cannot become Cakravartti-raja, Wheel King, who rules over the four provinces of Sumeru; (2) She cannot become Sikhim, King of Mahabrahman, who presides over the triple world; (3) She cannot become Sakraddevendra, Lord of the Trayastrmsah, who dominates over the thirty-three heavens, protects Buddhism and conquers the king of Asura; (4) She cannot become Mara, King of all the evil spirits; (5) She cannot become a Buddha.

our belief in him and that there is no rebirth on our part when severed from Amida's Buddhahood. To attain such a belief is called being reborn in the Land of Purity."

The third, the heart wishing for rebirth, means to dedicate one's works towards the attaining of rebirth in the Land of Amida. Good works so called were not good at all so long as the most sincere heart was not realised: but now that we have this heart, good works so called are valued from quite a new point of view and are thus good in the real sense of the work, and will surely be efficient to carry us into Amida's own land. To attain such a state of mind is known as the heart wishing for rebirth.

Shōkū says, "The third heart, Ekō-Hotsugwan-Shin (廻向發願心) in Japanese, is to dedicate all good works in previous lives as well as in the present to the attaining of the Land of Amida, rejoicing at the same time at every kind of good works that may be done by other fellow-beings in their past and present lives. Amida performed an innumerable number of good works for our sake, for our enlightenment, in order that we may avail ourselves of his work. To realise that Amida's work now directly proceeds from his merciful heart, we obtain this heart wishing for this rebirth."

This threefold activity of the heart issues from the belief that Amida's Vow does surely save us when, trusting its power, we practise the Nembutsu; for when we trust in his Vow, we have the most sincere heart, and when we practise the Nembutsu trusting in the Vow, we have the deep heart; and when we are assured of salvation, we have the heart wishing for rebirth.

VI

Such is the meaning of the threefold heart which functions as one as regards faith. The instant we attain this faith Buddha enters into our hearts and embraces us, and we are united with Amida inseparably. This state is

technically known as *Sesshu-Fusha*, *Sesshu* meaning "to take in" and *Fusha* "not to forsake." When this state is attained our works are Buddha's works whether they are done with the body, or the mouth, or the mind: conversely all the works done by Buddha whether with the body, the mouth, or the mind are all our own works. When this state is expressed in the formula of *Namu-Amida-Butsu*, when the dualism of *Namu* and *Amida* is unified, that is, when we are absorbed in *Amida*, for there are no more two things standing in opposition, one as "self" and the other as *Amida*; there is now a perfect unity, which is rebirth.

Shōkū explains this state of unity with the following analogy. "When a piece of dry wood takes fire, the latter speedily consumes the former: and when the wood turns into embers, one cannot say whether these are fire or wood: one may call them fire just as well as wood. In this, the dry wood represents mortal beings as they are unable to do any good work by themselves, being only capable of doing evils. But when they, relying on *Amida*, give themselves up to him, he enters into their hearts, and his enlightenment becomes their enlightenment. To give another analogy, the moon reflects itself in water wherever there is some: the moon and the water become inseparable here. Therefore, it is said that the rebirth is attained when *Amida* enters into our hearts and when thus our works are his and his are ours: in the unity of *Amida* and ourselves, *Amida* realises his Buddhahood and on our side rebirth is attained."

According to Shōkū, there is another kind of rebirth, which is called *Tōtoku Ōjō* (當得往生), rebirth to be attained in the future at the end of this life, to which is contrasted "rebirth already attained," of which mention has already been made. As to this future rebirth after death, it does not take place with us all in one way. It differs with each individual according to what kind of merit he accumulated while living. The realm assigned to those

who are to be taken in to the Pure Land according to this form of rebirth is divided into nine grades. (As to these different grades see the Meditation Sutra).

These two kinds of rebirth, the one attainable here and the other in the future, differ as to time, but essentially they are the same. The realm assigned to those who have already attained rebirth here is known as the Pure Land of Hossho Hosshin (法性法身), which means the unborn Dharmakaya: whereas those belonging to the second form of rebirth get into the Pure Land of Kuhon Kakubetsu (九品格別), meaning the Pure Land of Nine Divisions. The Pure Land may thus be conceivable as being twofold, but in reality it remains one and the same.

VII

In this Land of Purity into which we get by absolutely believing in the Original Vow of Amida, Buddha and we are so interpenetratingly merged that no distinctions now are obtainable between these two, all the doings of Amida are our doings and ours are done through him. However, this unity does not mean that in it no multiplicity is traceable. We, ignorant mortals, cannot avoid cherishing evil passions, and Amida cannot be said to be altogether unconnected with these evil passions on our part. Each moment an evil desire is awakened in us we think of Amida, and through this thinking, the evil itself is purified, resulting in the accomplishment of good works. Thus, we are called Bombu (凡夫, sk. *bāla*), i.e., ordinary mortals, in whom evil passions are inevitable however much we may try to overcome them. But this does not hinder our being reborn in the Pure Land: not that we may for this reason the more indulge in desires evil and defiled, but that we repent our sinful deeds and thoughts and grow all the more confirmed in the power of Amida's Original Vow.

Shōkū advises us to convert all the evil passions we may possibly cherish into opportunities of desiring the Pure Land.

For instance, "when we covet material treasure, let us turn this desire into that for the seven treasures of the Pure Land. When we crave for some particular food, let us imagine all kinds of dainties procurable in the Pure Land. When we desire fine clothes, let us turn our minds to the divine raiments in the Pure Land. When we are affected with heat and cold, let our hearts dwell on the climate of that Land. When we long for a recreation, let us fancy a stroll with Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. When we hear music on earth, let us apply our minds to the celestial music in that Land. When we see flowers, let us conceive those made of the seven treasures in the Land of Amida. When we see the sun, let us figure before our eyes the moonlike face of Buddha. In this way, whenever we enjoy anything pleasurable in this life, let us practise the Nembutsu, thinking of all the enjoyments in the Pure Land; and whenever we experience anything painful, let us also practise the Nembutsu, thinking of the eight pains sufferable in the three evil paths of existence. Let us thus practise the Nembutsu all the time each according to his own capabilities.

"As the result of this constant practice of the Nembutsu, our minds will be energised and Amida himself will appear even to these physical eyes of ours. Namu-Amida-Butsu is the point where Buddha appears to us and where we meet him. So everybody who will practise the Nembutsu through his life without interruption will assuredly come into the presence of Amida himself."

VIII

I hope in this brief exposition I have partially made clear the meaning of the Nembutsu according to the doctrine of Shōkū, the founder of the Seizan branch of the Pure Land sect. In short, according to him, the Nembutsu means, first, the invocation of the name of Amida; secondly, it is the name itself; thirdly, it is the substance of Amida;

fourthly, it is our knowledge of the substance; fifthly, it means all sort of works done with and in the knowledge of the substance of Amida; and lastly, the great universe itself is the Nembutsu.

To recapitulate: The Nembutsu is the name of Amida, the name represents the substance, and the name and substance are unified in the Nembutsu, and when this is practised there takes place the unity of Buddha and ourselves. The knowledge of the substance of Amida is the *sine qua non* of all works on the side of mortal beings. The Nembutsu is the one work by which all good works are really possible and without which whatever good works we may think we are doing, are not so in the true sense of the word. In one sense, therefore, the Nembutsu belongs to Amida and in another it is our own. When the Nembutsu is thus conceived it may assume another aspect and become what is called technically the "Nembutsu of the Great Universe." Here we have Shōkū's great philosophy of symbolism, which is his unique way of explaining the symbolical features of the universe. This, however, will require another opportunity to be clearly elucidated.

SHIZUTOSHI SUGIHIRA

THE SUVARNAPRABHĀSA SŪTRA

Introductory Notes

The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, which is one of the nine canonical writings of Nepalese Buddhism, occupies an important position in the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It has been studied both by Chinese and Japanese scholars; many commentaries are still extant, among which we may mention one by Chih-che Tai-shih (智者大師), of the Sui dynasty. As it contains some passages concerning the duties of the king, it has been regarded with special attention by the imperial family of Japan; and an elaborate rite has been performed by them in connection with the recitation and exposition of the sutra. When Prince Shōtoku built the temple Shitennoji (Four Guardian-gods Temple), now abbreviated Tennōji (天王寺), in Osaka, in 587 A.D. in honour of this sutra, the name was taken from the chapters in which the guardian-gods promise to protect those who recite and practise the teaching of the sutra. When later a state temple was established by the Emperor Shōmu in each of the provinces for the promotion of the national welfare, a copy of the sutra was deposited in it.

Studies of the sutra have been pursued by almost all the schools of Buddhism, but chiefly by the Tendai. There are five Chinese translations, the first of which was made by Dharmaraksha of the Liang dynasty (412–421 A.D.). As to further details concerning the translations and also problems in relation to the historical and doctrinal aspects of the sutra, the present editor intends to write a special introduction when the whole text is ready for the public.

The text edited here was first copied by the late Reverend Dr. Bunyiu Nanjio in 1881 when he was studying at Oxford, from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and another in the Royal Asiatic Society, London, which he later collated with one of the manuscripts kept in

Cambridge University. After he came back to Japan, he further collated his own copy with the manuscripts in the Tokyo and the Kyoto Imperial University. The work was finished, according to the entry of his copy-book, in 1915. When he died in 1927, the copy was left in my charge with the idea that I should if possible produce a more complete edition. Further comparisons were made by me with the three Tibetan translations of the sutra, assisted by Mr. Bun-kyo Sakurabe, of Otani University, and also with the Chinese translations by Dharmaraksha and others.

I should be ungrateful were I not to acknowledge the suggestions made from time to time by Dr. Unrai Wogihara whose keen judgments have been of great help in disentangling many a difficult knot in the text.

I am very glad that I am now able to present to the readers of this magazine a critical edition of the sutra in which my late master's labours are so much in evidence, and if he had been allowed to live a few years longer, he would have seen the text printed under his own direction.

23 October, 1928.

HOKEI IZUMI

ABBREVIATIONS

A.—MS in the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

C.—MS in the Cambridge University Library.

I.—an incomplete edition by Sarat Chandra Das and Satis Chandra Acarya Vidyabhushana, at Darjeeling, India, 1900.

K.—MS in the Kyoto University.

P.—Photographic copy of the MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, taken by Professor D. T. Suzuki, in 1910.

T.—MS in the Tokyo University.

Tib. denotes the Tibetan translations, of which there are three in four copies kept in the Otani University Library, Kyoto:

- (1) Translator not known, agreeing mostly with our text;
- (2) Translated by Jinamitra together with Silendrabodhi and Ye She De;
- (3) The same; hand-copied manuscript somewhat damaged; the last two seem to be made from the same original Sanskrit text which was also most probably used by I-tsing;
- (4) Translated from I-tsing's Chinese translation by a Tibetan named Chos-grub.

(涼)(合)(唐) are the three Chinese translations, respectively denoting Dharmaraksha's translation, Pao Keue's compilation, and I-tsing's translation.

॥ सुवर्णप्रभासोत्तमसूत्रेन्द्रराजः ॥

ओं नमः श्रीसर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वैर्नमः^१ । ओं नमो भगव-
त्या आर्यश्रीप्रज्ञापारमितायै । तद्यथा^२ । ओं श्रुतिस्मृति-
गतिविजये स्वाहा ।

यस्मिन्पारमितादशोत्तमगुणास्तैस्तैर्नमैः^३ सूचिताः
सर्वज्ञेन जगद्धिताय दश च प्रख्यापिता भूमयः ।
उच्छेदध्रुववर्जिता च विमला प्रोक्ता^४ गतिर्मध्यमा^५
तत्सूत्रं स्वर्णप्रभानिगदितं शृण्वन्तु बोध्यर्थिनः ॥
श्रुतं मयैकसमये गृध्रकूटे तथागतः ।
विजहार धर्मधातौ गम्भीरे बुद्धगोचरे ॥१॥

^{१०} बोधिसत्त्वसमुच्चयया महाकुलदेवतया । सरस्वत्या च

^१ In C. K. T. but श्री left out in T. ^२ श्री left out in C. नमः श्री भगवत्यै
आर्यप्रज्ञा^० K. ^३ Left out in A. ^४ Left out in C. K. ^५ From यस्मिन्
till बोध्यर्थिनः in T. only, but this also appears in the beginning of the Daśabhūmīśvara
where स्वर्णप्रभा is replaced by दशभूमिकं ^६ स्तैर्नमैः in all MSS. ^७ सु in all
MSS. ^८ प्रज्ञा in all MSS. ^९ माः in all MSS. ^{१०} The following eight
lines, with variants as marked, are wanting in the Tibetan version as well as Dharma-
rakṣa's Chinese translation. The introduction of Ānanda here has no vital connection
with the context, and in fact interferes with the intelligent understanding of it. It may
be regarded as a later interpolation.

महादेवतया । श्रिया च महादेवतया । दृढया च महापृ-
थिवीदेवतया । हारीत्या च महादेवतया । एवंप्रमुखाभि-
र्महादेवताभिरनेकदेवनागयक्षराक्षसगन्धर्वासुरगण्डकिंनर-
महोरगमनुष्यामनुष्यैः सार्धम्¹ ॥ अथायुष्मानानन्दो भगव-
न्तमेतदवोचत् । किं तासां² भगवन्धर्मविनयं भविष्यतीति ।
भगवानाह गाथाभिः । भावं³ च न⁴ दुःपृच्छया विरजस्कं
समाधिं धर्मसारं⁵ प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

शुद्धेषु विरजस्केषु बोधिसत्त्वोत्तमेषु च ।
निदानं सूत्रराजेन्द्रं स्वर्णप्रभासोत्तममिदम् ॥२॥
ततो गम्भीरश्रवणेन गम्भीरव्युपपरीक्षणेन⁷ ।
दिक्षु⁸ चतसृषु⁹ बुद्धैरधिष्ठानमधिष्ठितम् ॥३॥
अक्षोभ्यराजः¹⁰ पूर्वस्मिन्दक्षिणे रत्नकेतुना ।
पश्चिमायाममिताभ¹¹ उत्तरे दुन्दुभिस्वरः ॥४॥
तं प्रवक्ष्याम्यधिष्ठानं माङ्गल्यदेशनोत्तमम् ।
सर्वपापविनाशार्थं सर्वपापक्षयंकरम् ॥५॥

¹ सार्धम् left out in A.

² तासां च K.

³ व left out in A. T.

⁴ च न left out in C. गाथाभिः येन च L.

⁵ धर्मसारं A.

⁶ व्यव A.

⁷ The metre is irregular, as is often met with in the Buddhist poems. "Buddhist poets do not obey the ordinary rules of metre, or rather their rules of quantity of pronunciation differ from those of later grammarians." Vajracchedikā p. 46. note.

⁸ दशदिक्षु in all MSS.

⁹ च तिसृषु L

¹⁰ राजः C. T. न्त A.

¹¹ पश्चिमस्याममिताभेन A.; and

this quarter is of incorrect metre.

सर्वसौख्यप्रदातारं सर्वदुःखविनाशनम् ।
 मूलं सर्वज्ञतत्त्वस्य सर्वश्रीसमलंकृतम् ॥६॥
 उपहतेन्द्रिया ये हि^२ सत्त्वा नष्टा हतायुषः ।
 अलक्ष्म्या परिविष्टा^४ हि देवतासु पराङ्मुखाः ॥७॥
 कान्तया ते^५ जना द्विष्टाः^६ कुटुम्बादिष्वपद्रुताः^७ ।
 परस्परविरुद्धा^८ वा अर्थनाशैरुपद्रुताः ॥८॥
 शोकायासेष्वनर्थे^९ च भये व्यसन एव च ।
 ग्रहनक्षत्रपीडायां काखोर्ददारुणग्रहैः^{१०} ॥९॥
 पापकं पश्यते^{११} स्वप्ने^{१२} शोकायाससमुच्छ्रितम् ।
 तेन च^{१३} स्नानशुचिना श्रोतव्यं सूत्रमुत्तमम् ॥१०॥
 शृण्वन्ति य इदं सूत्रं गम्भीरं बुद्धगोचरम् ।
 प्रसन्नचित्ताः सुमनसः^{१४} शुचिवस्त्रैरलंकृताः ॥११॥
 तेषां सर्वे तथा नित्यमुपसर्गाः सुदारुणाः ।
 तेजसा चास्य सूत्रस्य शाम्यन्ते सर्वप्राणिनाम् ॥१२॥
 स्वयं ते^{१५} लोकपालाश्च सामात्याः सगणेश्वराः ।

^१ नत्व C. ^२ हि left out in A. ^३ अलक्ष्म्या in all MSS. ^४ पाद'लक्ष्म्या Tib.

^५ ये C. K. य T. ^६ Ex conject.; निष्टाः A. K. T. रिष्टाः C. निष्टाः L

^७ पद्रुताः A. C. T. प्रदुडलगा K. ^८ सविरोडा A. निबुद्धा C. विरुद्धा L

^९ समनर्थे A. सप्यनर्थे K. सोप्यनेर्थे T. ^{१०} Ex conject.; पीडाचा काषोददा A.

पीशायां काखोर्ददा C. भीता ये कान्ता वा दारुणग्रहैः L पीडावा यां K. पीचायां

काखोर्ददा T. ^{११} पश्यति L ^{१२} स्वप्ने L ^{१३} Supplied for the sake of metre.

^{१४} सौमनस्काः प्रसन्नास्याः C. K. T. ^{१५} शपन्ते L

तेषां रक्षां करिष्यन्ति ह्यनेकैर्यक्षकोटिभिः ॥१३॥
 सरस्वती महादेवी तथा नैरञ्जनवासिनी ।
 हारीती भूतमाता च दृढा पृथिवीदेवता^१ ॥१४॥
 ब्रह्मेन्द्रैस्त्रिदशेन्द्रैश्च महर्द्धिकिंनरैश्चरैः ।
 गरुडेन्द्रैस्तथा सार्धं यक्षगन्धर्वपन्नगैः ॥१५॥
 ते च तत्रोपसंक्रम्य ससैन्यबलवाहनाः ।
 तेषां रक्षां करिष्यन्ति दिवारात्रौ समाहिताः ॥१६॥
 इदं सूत्रं प्रकाशिष्ये गम्भीरं बुद्धगोचरम् ।
 रहस्यं सर्वबुद्धानां दुर्लभं कल्पकोटिभिः ॥१७॥
 शृण्वन्ति य इदं सूत्रं ये चान्ये श्रावयन्ति च ।
 ये केचिदनुमोदन्ते ये च पूजां करोन्ति हि ॥१८॥
 ते पूजिता भविष्यन्ति ह्यनेकैः कल्पकोटिभिः ।
 देवनागमनुष्यैश्च किंनरासुरगुह्यकैः ॥१९॥
 पुण्यस्कन्धमपर्यन्तमसंख्येयमचिन्तियम्^२ ।
 यत्तेषां प्रसृतं भोति कृतपुण्यान प्राणिनाम् ॥२०॥
 प्रगृहीता भविष्यन्ति सर्वबुद्धैर्दिशो दश^३ ।
 गम्भीरचरितेभिश्च बोधिसत्त्वैस्तथैव च ॥२१॥

^१ Restored from the Tibetan versions where we have: Nairajñāna Tib.(a) Nerañjanā Tib.(b) परंजनि A. T. श्रीर्जय C. K. L. ^२ ताः K.

^३ The following two verses are left out in A. ^४ अ C. ^५ चिन्तितं C.

^६ ते A. त T. ^७ ह A. ^८ बुद्धैर्दिशास्त्रितै C. दिगास्थितैः K. ^९ च K.

चौक्षचीवरप्रावृत्य सुगन्धजलपावनैः ।

मैत्रीचित्तं^२ समुत्पाप्य^३ पूजितव्यमतन्द्रितैः ॥२२॥

विपुलं विमलं^४ चित्तमात्मानं प्रकरिष्यति ।

प्रसादयंश्च चेतांसि शृणुष्व^६ सूत्रमुत्तमम् ॥२३॥

स्वागतं च^७ मनुष्येषु सुलब्धं^८ मनुष्यं फलम्^९ ।

सुजीविताश्च जीवन्ति सूत्रं शृण्वन्ति ये त्विदम्^{१०} ॥२४॥

उत्तमकुशलमूलास्ते बहुबुद्धप्रकाशिताः^{१२} ।

येषामिदं कर्णपुटे देशितं संप्रविश्यतीति ॥२५॥

इति श्रीसुवर्णप्रभासोत्तमसूत्रेन्द्रराजे निदानपरिवर्तो

नाम प्रथमः ॥

^१ बौद्ध I.

^२ चित्तं K.

^३ य K.

^४ विमलं विमलं A. C.

^५ चित्तं I.

^६ ष्वं A.

^७ स्वागतश्चा C.

^८ सुरम्यं L च स्वप्नं K.

^९ In Tib. སྒྲིད which means भव.

^{१०} ये इदं A.

^{११} उदम A.

उत्तम C. སྒྲིད Tib.

^{१२} बुद्धोपसेवकाः C. K. T.

^{१३} श्री left out in A.

^{१४} सूत्र ज्ञे C.

^{१५} वर्तः प्र A.

तेन खलु पुनः कालेन तेन समयेन राजगृहे महानगरे रुचिरकेतुर्नाम बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्वः¹ प्रतिवसति पूर्वजिनकृताधिकारोऽवरोपितकुशलमूलो बहुबुद्धकोटि-²नियुतशतसहस्रपर्युपासितः तस्यैतदभवत्³ । को हेतुः कः प्रत्ययो यद्भगवतः शाक्यमुनेरेवं परीक्षमायुःप्रमाणं यदुता-
शीतिवर्षाणीति⁴ ॥

पुनस्तस्यैतदभवत् । उक्तं चैव भगवता द्वौ हेतू द्वौ च प्रत्ययौ दीर्घायुष्कतायाम् । कतमौ द्वौ प्राणातिपातवै-
मणं भोजनप्रदानं च ॥ अथ च⁵ बहून्यसंख्येयकल्पकोटि-
नियुतशतसहस्राणि भगवाञ्छाक्यमुनिः प्राणातिपात-
प्रतिविरतो बभूव । यावद्दशकुशलकर्मपथं⁶ समादापये-
त्तावद्भगवता भोजनमाध्यात्मिकं बाह्यानि च वस्तूनि
सत्त्वानां परित्यक्तानि । अन्तः स्वशरीरमांसरुधिरास्थि-
मज्जया बुभुक्षिताः सत्त्वाः संतर्पिताः प्रागेवान्येन⁷ भोज-
नेन च⁸ ॥

¹ महासत्त्वः left out in C.

² अधिक left out in T.

³ टि read टी throughout

in the prose portion,

⁴ दवोचत् A.

⁵ एषी A. एषि K. ति left out in A. T.

⁶ च left out in T.

⁷ यां A.

⁸ पक्कः C.

⁹ वेन in all MSS.

¹⁰ च left out in A. T.

अथ तस्य पुरुषस्य बुद्धानुस्मृतिमनसिकारस्येवामेवं-
रूपां चिन्तां चिन्तयमानस्य गृहं विपुलं विस्तीर्णं सं-
प्रवृत्तमभवत् । वैदूर्यमयमनेकदिव्यरत्नप्रत्युप्तं तथागतवि-
ग्रहं दिव्यातिक्रान्तेन गन्धेन स्फुटम् । तस्मिंश्च गृहे चतु-
र्दिशि चत्वारि दिव्यरत्नमयान्यासनानि प्रादुर्भूतान्यभूवन् ।
तेषु चासनेषु दिव्यानि पर्यङ्कानि दिव्यरत्नदूष्यपटप्रज्ञप्ता-
नि प्रादुर्भूतानि बभूवुः । तेषु पर्यङ्केषु दिव्यान्यनेकरत्नप्र-
त्युप्तानि तथागतविग्रहाणि पद्मानि प्रादुर्भूतानि । तेषु च
पद्मेषु चत्वारो बुद्धा भगवन्तः प्रादुर्भूता बभूवुः । पुरान्ति-
केन त्वक्षोभ्यस्तथागतः प्रादुर्भूतो दक्षिणेन रत्नकेतुस्त-
थागतः प्रादुर्भूतः पश्चिमेनामितायुस्तथागतः प्रादुर्भूत उत्त-
रेण दुन्दुभिस्वरस्तथागतः प्रादुर्भूतः । समनन्तरप्रादुर्भूतश्च
ते^१ बुद्धा भगवन्तस्तेषु सिंहासनेषु । अथ तावदेव राजगृहं
महानगरं महतावभासेनावभासितं स्फुटं बभूव । यावत्त्रि-
साहस्रमहासाहस्रलोकधातुर्यावत्समन्ताद्दशसु दिक्षु गङ्गा-
नदीवालुकासमा लोकधातवस्तेनावभासेन स्फुटा बभू-
वुः । दिव्यानि च पुष्पाणि प्रावर्षु^२र्दिव्यानि^३ च तूयाणि

^१ 'मेव दिव्यरूपां in all MSS. एवेरूपां Tib.

^२ पुष्पपतैः A. °युग C. T.

^३ जराणि in MSS. This is quite puzzling; but the restoration has been made from Tib.

^४ पूर्वोक्तो A. पुरस्तिमेन C. पुरान्तिके T.

^५ तास्ते C. तेष्वभासे P.

ता आसते ते. T. ^६ प्रवर्षेयुः A. ^७ वाद्यानि A.

प्रवादयामासुः । सर्वे चास्मिंस्त्रिसाहस्रमहासाहस्रलोक-
धातौ सत्त्वा बुद्धानुभावेन दिव्यसुखेन समन्वागता बभू-
वुः । जात्यन्धाश्च सत्त्वा रूपाणि पश्यन्ति स्म^२ । वधिराश्च
सत्त्वाः सत्त्वेभ्यः शब्दानि शृण्वन्ति । उन्मत्ताश्च सत्त्वाः
स्मृतिं प्रतिलभन्ते ऽविक्षिप्तचित्ताश्च स्मृतिमन्तो बभूवुः ।
नग्नाश्च सत्त्वाश्चीवरप्रवृत्ता बभूवुः । जिघत्सि^३ताश्च सत्त्वाः
परिपूर्णगात्रा बभूवुः । तृषिताश्च सत्त्वा विगततृष्णा ब-
भूवुः । रोगपृष्टाश्च सत्त्वा विगतरोगा बभूवुः । हीनका-
याश्च सत्त्वाः परि^५पूर्णैर्द्रिया बभूवुः । विस्तरेण बहूनामा-
श्चर्याद्भुतधर्माणां लोके प्रादुर्भावो ऽभूत्^६ ॥

अथ खलु^७ रुचिरकेतुर्बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्वस्तान्बुद्धान्भ-
गवतो दृष्ट्वाश्चर्यप्राप्तो बभूव । कथमेतदिति संतुष्ट उदग्र
आत्मनाः^८ प्रमुदितः प्रीतिसौमनस्यजातो येन ते बुद्धा भ-
गवन्तस्तेनाञ्जलिं प्रणम्याकारतस्तान्बुद्धान्भगवतो ऽनुस्मर-
माणो भगवतः शाक्यमुनेर्गुणाननुस्मरमाणो भगवतः शा-
क्यमुनेरायुःप्रमाणसंशयप्राप्तस्तां चिन्तां चिन्तयमानः स्थि-
तो बभूव । कथमेतत्किमेतद्यद्भगवतः शाक्यमुनेरेवं परी-
क्षमायुःप्रमाणं यदुताशीतिवर्षाणि ॥

^१ स्त्रे C.^२ In T. only.^३ जघ्रांसि A. जिघत्सि T.^४ स्पृ A. T. पृ C.^५ सं C.^६ बभूवु A. K. बभूव T.^७ In A. only.^८ महासत्त्व left out in K.^९ आत्मनाः A. शान्तमनाः C.^{१०} गुणेनु A. गणानुसंशामनु C. गुणानुस्मर L T

अथ खलु ते बुद्धा भगवन्तः स्मृताः संप्रजानास्तं¹ रुचि-
रकेतुं बोधिसत्त्वमेतदवोचन्² । मा त्वं कुलपुत्रैवं चिन्तय
एवं परीक्षं भगवतः शाक्यमुनेरायुःप्रमाणम्³ । तत्कस्य
हेतोः । न चवै कुलपुत्र तं⁴ समनुपश्यामः सदेवके लोके⁵
समारके सब्रह्मके सश्रमणब्राह्मणिकायां प्रजायां सदेवमा-
नुषासुरायां यः समर्थः स्याद्भगवतः शाक्यमुनेस्तथाग-
तस्यायुःप्रमाणपर्यन्तमधिगन्तुं यावदपरान्तकोटिभिः स्था-
पयित्वा तथागतैरर्हद्भिः सम्यक्संबुद्धैः । समनन्तरोदाहृते⁶
तैर्बुद्धैर्भगवद्भिस्तथागतायुःप्रमाणनिर्देशे । अथ तावद्बुद्धानु-
भावेन कामावचरा रूपावचराश्च देवपुत्राः संनिपतिता
यावन्नागयक्षगन्धर्वासुरगरुडकिंनरमहोरगा अनेकानि च
बोधिसत्त्वकोटिनियुतशतसहस्राणि तस्मिन्नुचिरकेतुबोधि-
सत्त्वस्य गृहे समागता आसन्⁷ । अथ ते तथागताः सर्व-
पर्षदो⁸ भगवतः शाक्यमुनेरायुःप्रमाणनिर्देशं गाथाभिर-
भ्यभाषन्⁹ ॥

जलार्णवेषु सर्वेषु¹⁰ शक्यन्ते बिन्दुभिर्गणयितुम्¹¹ ।

न तु¹² शाक्यमुनेरायुः शक्यं गणयितुं क्वचित् ॥१॥

¹ तं left out in C.

² चत् in all MSS.

³ आयुःप्रमाणं is put in before

भगवतः in C.

⁴ त T.

⁵ Left out in A.

⁶ ज्ञते च C.

हृते च T.

⁷ आसन् left out in A.

⁸ सर्ववर्ती C. T.

⁹ रभ्यभाषितः A.

रभाषन् C. K. T.

¹⁰ In C. only.

¹¹ सक्य गनिंतु बिन्दुवः A. गणयितुं बिन्दु-

भिः T.

¹² न तु left out in C.

सुमेहं परमाणवः¹ कृत्वा शक्यं च संख्यया² ।
 न तु शाक्यमुनेरायुः³ शक्यं गणयितुं क्वचित् ॥२॥
 'याः काश्चित्पृथिवीः सन्ति यावन्तः परमाणवः ।
 शक्यं गणयितुं सर्वा न तु चायुर्जिनस्य वै ॥३॥
 आकाशं यदि वा कश्चिदिच्छेत्प्रमितुं केनचित्⁵ ।
 न तु शाक्यमुनेरायुः शक्यं गणयितुं क्वचित् ॥४॥
 इत्युक्तानि⁶ च कल्पानि⁷ कल्पकोटिशतानि च ।
 एष तिष्ठेच्च संबुद्धः संख्यातो न हि लभ्यते ॥५॥
 यस्माद्दे⁸ कारणे⁹ तस्य तथैव द्वौ च प्रत्ययौ ।
 विरतः¹⁰ परहिंसाया¹¹ बहु दत्तं च भोजनम् ॥६॥
 यस्मात्तस्य महात्मस्य ह्यायुःसंख्या न लभ्यते ।
 इत्युक्तानि¹² च कल्पानि संख्यायान्न तथैव¹³ च ॥७॥
 तस्मान्न संशयो भो हि मा किञ्चित्कुह संशयम् ।
 न जिनस्यायुःपर्यन्तं काचित्संख्योपलभ्यते ॥८॥

¹ रुनि च सर्वानिः A. परमाणनि C. ² From शक्यं till शाक्यमुनेरायुः left out in A.

³ शाक्यमुनेरायुःप्राण C., and पारण A. ⁴ This line is left out in C. while A. reads:

पृथिवी कृत्वा परमाणवः शक्यं गणयितुम् । न तु शाक्यमुनेरायुः शक्यं गणयितुं क्वचित् ॥

⁵ कश्चिदिच्छेत्प्रमितुं केनचित् A. कश्चिदिच्छेत्प्रमितुं क्वचित् T. ⁶ एतत्कानि A.

⁷ कल्पानि left cut in T. ⁸ त in all MSS. ⁹ एतौ A. ¹⁰ पाप in all MSS

while in Tib. བཤམ་པ་ ¹¹ यां A. C. याः T. ¹² एतत्कानि A. ¹³ कल्पा

असंख्ययास्तथैव A. कल्पानि संख्याया च तथैव C. ¹⁴ A. reads this line: तस्मान्न

संशयो भो हि मां किञ्चित्कुल संशय । while C. puts किञ्चित् in before सो हि

¹⁵ पल्लवे केचि A.

अथ खलु तस्मिन्समये तत्र पर्षद्याचार्यव्याकरणप्राप्तः
कौण्डिन्यो¹ नाम ब्राह्मणो ऽनेकैर्ब्राह्मणसहस्रैः सार्धं भगवतः
पूजाकर्म कृत्वा तथागतस्य महापरिनिर्वाणशब्दं श्रुत्वा
सहस्रोत्थाय भगवत्श्रवणयोर्निपत्य भगवन्तमेवमाह । स=
चेत्किल भगवन्सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पको महाकारुणिको हितै=
षी सर्वसत्त्वानां मातापितृभूतो ऽसमसमभूतश्चन्द्रभूत आ=
लोककरो³ महाप्रज्ञाज्ञानसूर्यसमुद्गतः । यदि त्वं सर्वसत्त्वान्
राहुलं स्वं संपश्यसि मद्यमेकं वरं देहि । भगवां=
स्तूष्णीभूतो ऽभूत् ॥

अथ बुद्धानुभावेन तस्यां⁴ पर्षदि सर्वसत्त्वप्रियदर्शनो
नाम लिङ्गविकुमारस्तस्य प्रतिभानमुत्पन्नं⁷ स आचार्य-
व्याकरणप्राप्तं कौण्डिन्यं ब्राह्मणमेवमाह । किं नु त्वं मह्यं-
ब्राह्मण भगवन्तमेकं वरं याचसि⁹ । अहं ते वरं ददामि ।
ब्राह्मण आह । अहमस्मिँल्लिङ्गविकुमार भगवतः पूजोप-
स्थानाय भगवतः सर्षपफलमात्रं धातुमिच्छामि निक्षेपितुं
¹⁰चूर्णं धातुमभिप्रयोजनायैवं सर्षपफलमात्रं धातुमभिपू-
जयित्वा त्रिदशाधिपत्यं लभ्यत इत्येवं श्रूयते । शृणु त्वं

¹ कौण्डिन्यो L

² महा left out in C.

³ समभूतश्च गुरुलोककरो C.

समभूताश्च गुरुलोककरो T.

⁴ तस्मिँ A.

⁵ सं is inserted in T.

⁶ लिङ्ग-

च्छवि ?

⁷ प्रतिभानमुत्पन्नं A. प्रतिभातुत्पन्नं T.

⁸ महा left out in C.

⁹ से C.

¹⁰ The phrase चूर्णं धातुमभिप्रयोजनाय is simply a repetition of the

preceding one, and introduces nothing anew; it may be an interpolation by a later hand.

रक्ताः¹ काका भविष्यन्ति शङ्खवर्णाश्च कोकिलाः ॥९॥
जम्बुस्तालफलं दद्यात्खर्जूरश्चाम्रमञ्जरीम्² ।
तदा सर्षपमात्रं च⁴ व्यक्तं धातुर्भविष्यति⁵ ॥१०॥
यदा कच्छपलोमानां प्रावरैः सुवृतो भवेत् ।
हेमन्ते शीतहरणो⁶ तदा धातुर्भविष्यति ॥११॥
यदा मशकपादानामट्टकालम्बनं⁷ भवेत् ।
दृढं चाप्यप्रकम्पि च⁸ तदा धातुर्भविष्यति ॥१२॥
यदा तीक्ष्णा महान्तश्च दन्ता जायन्ति पाण्डुराः ।
जलौकानां हि सर्वेषां तदा धातुर्भविष्यति ॥१३॥
यदा शशविषाणेन निःश्रेणी⁹ सुदृढा भवेत् ।
स्वर्गस्यारोहणार्थाय तदा धातुर्भविष्यति ॥१४॥
तां निःश्रेणिं¹⁰ यदारुह्य चन्द्रं भक्षति¹¹ मूषिकः ।
राहुं च परिधावेत् तदा धातुर्भविष्यति ॥१५॥
यदा मद्यघटं पीत्वा मक्षिका ग्रामचारिण्यः ।
अगारे वासं¹² कल्पेयुस्तदा धातुर्भविष्यति ॥१६॥
यदा बिम्बोष्ठसंपन्नो गर्दभः सुखितो भवेत् ।
कुशलं नृत्यगीतेषु तदा धातुर्भविष्यति ॥१७॥

¹ Left cut in A.

² रं वाम् मञ्जरी A.

³ फल is inserted in A. T

⁴ च in C. only.

⁵ च वक्तव्यं ब्राह्मणोक्तम् C.

⁶ हरितो A.

⁷ अक्षारम्

हेते A. मन्वभ्यालम्बनं C. मण्डलम्बनं T.

⁸ दृढश्चाप्रकवीरता A.

दृढश्चाप्यप्रकम्पी च C.

⁹ In T. only.

¹⁰ In T. only.

¹¹ क्षो T.

¹² वासमगरे A.

¹³ विद्योप A. तिर्योप C. T.

यदा ह्यलूककाकाश्च रमयेयुः सहागताः¹ ।

अन्योन्यमनुकूलेन तदा धातुर्भविष्यति ॥१६॥

यदा पलाशपक्षाणां च्छत्तं हि विपुलं² भवेत् ।

वर्षस्य प्रतिपाताय तदा धातुर्भविष्यति ॥१७॥

यदा सामुद्रिका नावः सयन्त्राः सपताकिकाः ।

स्थलमारुह्य गच्छेयुस्तदा धातुर्भविष्यति ॥२०॥

यदा ह्यलूकशकुनाः पवंतं गन्धमादनम् ।

तुण्डेनादाय गच्छेयुस्तदा धातुर्भविष्यति ॥२१॥

एताश्च गाथाः श्रुत्वाचार्यव्याकरणप्राप्तः कौण्डिन्यो
ब्राह्मणः सर्वं लोकप्रियदर्शनं लिखितविकुमारं गाथाभिः
प्रत्यभाषत ॥

साधु साधु कुमाराय जिनपुत्र महागिर ।

उपायकुशलो वीरः³ प्राप्तव्याकरणोत्तमः⁴ ॥२२॥

मम कुमार शृणोहि लोकनाथस्य तायिनः ।

तथागतस्य माहान्त्यं⁵ यथा क्रममचिन्तितम्⁶ ॥२३॥

अचिन्त्यं बुद्धविषयमसमाश्च तथागताः ।

सर्वबुद्धाः शिवा नित्यं सर्वबुद्धाः समाचराः ॥२४॥

सर्वबुद्धाः समवणा एषा बुद्धेषु⁷ धर्मता ।

¹ अहोगतः L

² रत्नसं A.

³ वीरः A. T. वीर C.

⁴ म T.

⁵ महात्मस्य A.

⁶ क्रमस्यचिन्तितं A. क्रममचिन्तयन् C.

⁷ सर्वे C.

⁸ बुद्धेषु A.

न कृत्रिमो¹ ऽसौ भगवान्नोत्पन्नश्च तथागतः ॥२५॥
 वज्रसंहतनकायो निर्मितकायदर्शकः² ।
 नापि सर्षपमात्रं च धातुर्नाम महर्षिणाम्⁵ ॥२६॥
 अनस्थिरुधिरे काये कुतो धातुर्भविष्यति ।
 उपायधातुनिक्षेपः सत्त्वानां हितकारणम् ॥२७॥
 धर्मकायो हि संबुद्धो धर्मधातुस्तथागतः ।
 ईदृशो भगवत्काय ईदृशी⁶ धर्मदेशना ॥२८॥
 एतच्छ्रुतं मया ज्ञात्वाभियाचितं वरं मया ।
 तत्त्वव्याकरणार्थाय वरोत्पादं मुनेः कृतम्⁷ ॥२९॥

⁸अथ खलु द्वात्रिंशद्देवपुत्रसहस्राणि तथागतस्य यं
 गम्भीरमायुःप्रमाणनिर्देशं श्रुत्वा सर्वैरनुत्तरायां सम्यक्सं-
 बोधौ चिन्तान्युत्पादितानि ते प्रहृष्टमनःसंकल्पा एकस्वर-
 निर्घोषेण गायामभाषन्¹⁰ ॥

न बुद्धः परिनिर्वाति न धर्मः परिहीयते ।
 सत्त्वानां परिपाकाय परिनिर्वाणं निदर्शयेत्¹¹ ॥३०॥
 अचिन्त्यो भगवान्बुद्धो नित्यकायस्तथागतः ।
 देशेति¹² विविधान्व्यूहान्सत्त्वानां हितकारणात् ॥३१॥

¹ कृत्रिमो A. कृत्रिमो K.

² दर्शयेत् A. C.

³ फल is inserted in T.

⁴ धतुं K.

⁵ महर्षिः T.

⁶ ईदृशो हि भवेत् काय C.

ईदृशी भवेत्काये T.

⁷ This verse is wanting in the 3rd Chinese version.

⁸ From अथ till चिन्तान्युत्पा-

दितानि left out in C.

⁹ चिन्तान्युत्पा⁹ A. C.

¹⁰ भाषत A. हाषत C.

भाष T. ¹¹ निर्वाणं परिदेशयेत् C.

¹² श A. शे C. शे T.

अथ खलु रुचिरकेतुर्बोधिसत्त्वस्तेषां बुद्धानां भगवतां तयोश्च द्वयोः सत्पुरुषयोरन्तिकाद्भगवतः शाक्यमुनेरायुः-प्रमाणनिर्देशं श्रुत्वा तुष्ट उदग्र आत्मनाः प्रमुदितः प्री-तिसौमनस्यजातश्चोदारेण प्रीतिप्रामोद्येन स्फुटो² ऽभूत् । अस्मिंस्तथागतायुःप्रमाणनिर्देशे निर्दिश्यमाने ऽप्रमेया-णामसंख्येयानां सत्त्वानामनुत्तरायां सम्यक्संबोधौ चि-त्तमुत्पादितम् । ते च तथागता अन्तरिता³ इति ॥

इति श्रीसुवर्णप्रभासोत्तमसूत्रेन्द्रराजे तथागतायुःप्रमाण-निर्देशपरिवर्तो नाम द्वितीयः⁵ ॥

¹ तुबो A. T. ² स्फुटो K. ³ Here the chapter ends abruptly with a word अर्हन्तः in all MSS., but we can ascertain from the Tibetan and Chinese versions that the original form must be like this. ⁴ श्री left out in A. ⁵ In the 2nd and the 3rd Chinese version we have a new chapter following this, which discourses on the nature of Buddha's Triple Body, while our text as well as the Tibetan and Dharmarakṣa's translation gives nothing of it.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES

BUDDHISM, by Paul Dahlke. Published by Macmillan & Company, London.

This notable book by Dr. Dahlke was published just before his death last year. The full title of the book is, Buddhism and its Place in the Mental Life of Mankind. The book offers little of a philosophical nature and little of doctrine, but as its name implies is strictly devoted to elucidating the place that Buddhism occupies in the thought-life of humanity. Being written by a German it is naturally closely reasoned, and, if one is looking for easy reading, he better pass it by. On the other hand, if he likes something worth while to ponder on, it is an excellent and profitable study.

Dr. Dahlke first points out that there are two common ways of trying to approach reality: one by objectifying the world and after the methods of science to approach the most satisfactory hypothesis; the other way is by faith, that is, to personalise one's ideals and then seek to identify one's life with its transcendent divinity. Buddhism, Dr. Dahlke points out, takes its characteristic Middle Path. Science is everlastingly trying to analyse facts and concepts and thereby makes finer and finer discriminations but never gets beyond its bits moving in time and space. Science may make life easier, it can never resolve its dissatisfactions and pain. Faith, on the other hand, is ever trying to construct out of its mental concepts, a picture, a scheme, an image, that it can worship. Unable to get rid of its haunting feeling of self-inferiority, it clings blindly to the infinite power, love or mercy of its fetich or metaphysical idealisation.

Dr. Dahlke shrewdly points out that Buddhism avoids both of these extremes by seeing in the universe of matter and mind and spirit an omnipresent principle of nutrition by which mental concepts are neither analysed and classified

and explained by each other, nor are they to be made into a magical mosaic imbued with supernatural qualities. According to this law of nutrition concepts derived from the senses or the intellect are to be considered as food, to be masticated and digested and assimilated in the universal process of growth, bridging the gap between matter and mind. Gautama had clearly seen this eternal process of growth through nutrition, and, by the seventh step of the Golden Path, Samadhi, had provided for the transition from the physical to the psychical plane; and, by the eighth step of the Golden Path, Dhyana, to digest and absorb one's ideals and thus to bridge the way between the psychic realm and the more unitive life of spirit in its pure significance. Looked at in the light of this principle of nutrition all the familiar conceptions of Buddhism—ignorance, karma, pain, non-egoity, Prajna, Bodhi, Buddha, Nirvana, all take on a new and convincing clarity. The book, is indeed, well worth reading and owning to read again.

WHAT IS BUDDHISM? Compiled and published by the Buddhist Lodge, London, 1928.

This small book of less than 250 pages is an honest and earnest effort by the group of English Buddhists in London to provide a simple exposition of Buddhism to meet the needs of Anglo-Saxons as they become interested in the Dharma. It seeks by question and answer to follow the natural working of the Occidental mind, and illustrates the replies by frequent quotations from European sources as well as from Buddhist scriptures. It tries to avoid dogmatism and seeks to convince the reader by an appeal to rational and common-sense principles. Its outlook is from a Hinayana point of view, generally, although some effort is made to do justice to the Mahayana spirit of Buddhism. The Mahayana doctrine presented is only that of the Zen school. The wonderful philosophies of the Kegon, the Tendai, and the Shingon do not seem to be known, and the Amida doctrine of "salvation

by faith'' professed by so many Japanese Buddhists is characterised as degraded and the mystic formula of love and devotion of Namu Amida Butsu is called a senseless repetition. The compilers do not understand the deep philosophy of the Mahayana and the great ideal of the Bodhisattva. Until the Mahayana is better known and presented, the answer to "What is Buddhism?" is only a partial one.

One misses something that to more advanced Buddhist scholars would seem to be important, perhaps, but on the whole, for the use of European beginners, and that is for whom the book was intended, it is to be commended.

WAS JESUS INFLUENCED BY BUDDHISM? by Dwight Goddard, Thetford, Vermont, U.S.A.

This book is a very unusual one, in that it tries to prove that Jesus the founder of Christianity had been brought up in the semi-Buddhist sect of the Jews and was really a Buddhist at heart if not intentionally so. Of course the author is quite unable to definitely prove this thesis, and that has been promptly pointed out by his Christian critics, but he certainly makes out a very strong case based on circumstantial evidence. He is right in asserting that the historical and characteristic facts of the life and teachings of Jesus, as far as they can be safely recovered from the Gospels, all bear a very close resemblance to the facts and teachings of primitive Buddhist monastic life. But this resemblance is not proof. The author then undertakes to trace some connection between Jesus during his early life and the Jewish sect of the Essenes that existed at that time in the Jordan valley as a celibate community. Then he shows the likenesses in their practices to those of the Buddhist monasteries, but the great difficulty is to show any possible connection historically. This connection is seen by the author in the missionaries sent out by the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka to Egypt and Asia Minor during the second century B.C. But this is not 'proof'. Well,

perhaps not, but it is certainly very significant, and until Christian historians can offer something better to explain the origin of Jesus's characteristic ideas than that which is generally suggested, namely, that they came to him by direct inspiration from the Holy Spirit, that which the author offers will bear thinking about.

In the course of the book the author offers a very careful study of the rise and development of the Christian religion showing plainly how the more theistic legalism of Paul finding congenial soil in Greek and Roman mentality, finally dominated and crowded out the ethical idealism of Jesus that appealed more strongly to the Orient and that continued to spread there until the rise of Mohamedanism.

The author in his presentation of Buddhism shows an unusually correct and sympathetic understanding of primitive Buddhism. We would be glad to recommend the book to our readers but are advised that it is already out of print.

THE BUDDHIST ANNUAL OF CEYLON. Published by W. E. Bastian & Company, Colombo, Ceylon, 1928.

The present issue is numbered Vol. III, No. 2 and as usual is full of interesting selections covering a wide range of subjects, new translations, of Pali sutras, elucidation of particular doctrines, stories, poems and essays. Among the many contributors are many names well known to English readers. There is an abundance of illustrations, photographs, portraits, designs and so on. The annual has certainly kept up its record for presenting short, pithy but well-thought-out essays and interesting articles.

THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA. By Paul Carus. Published by The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

This book was originally published in 1894 and has been out of print for some time. It is now reprinted in a much larger and more attractive form. To those who are not familiar with the original editions, it may be said that

it tries to present the essential teachings of the Buddha in a popular style without losing any of their rationality and moral discipline. In fact the bulk of it are free translations of the old Buddhist Canon. Most of the original material is in the introductory and concluding chapters, and seems to be directed to set the reader thinking. Not the least attractive part of the publication are the line drawings by Miss Kopetsky.

While going over the old Chinese MSS donated by the Right Reverend Koyen Otani to the Library of the Otani Buddhist College (Otani Daigaku), Kyoto, it was discovered by Mr. Ryusan Nishimoto, librarian, that one of the MSS was in all likelihood the Chinese translation by Kumārajīva of the *Daśādhyaṇa-vinaya-bhikṣhunī-pratimokṣha*. Most of the MSS ante-date the T'ang ranging between the fifth and the sixth century, as they all belong to the Tun-huang findings. It is a well-known fact that Kumārajīva translated the monastery rules for the Bhikṣu, and this text is in our possession, but so far there are no records that he also translated the rules for the Bhikṣunis, that is, for the Buddhist nuns. Mr. Nishimoto's discovery may be contested on this ground, but he has made a most painstaking study of the MS and has scientifically proved that the said MS is one of the documents that were lost very early in the history of Chinese Buddhism even within sixty years after the translator's death.

The *Daśa-ādhyāna-vinaya-bhikṣhunī-pratimokṣha* is a set of moral rules given presumably by the Buddha himself to the Buddhist nuns, and there are four Chinese translations of such rules belonging to different schools of Indian Buddhism, and this one ascribed by Mr. Nishimoto to Kumārajīva is the text of the Sarvāstivāda school. Mr. Nishimoto recently published a facsimile reproduction of the MS which is at least 1,400 years old judging from the style of the script, the texture of the paper, etc. The scroll is ac-

accompanied by a book in which the author advances strong arguments for the MS being Kumārajīva's work, and the text itself collated with the other Chinese versions, and also detailed explanations of each article regulating minutely and intimately the behaviours of the nuns. The original scroll is splendidly reproduced. The price of a facsimile copy and the text with its explanatory notes, etc., is twenty-five yen (¥ 25.00) including postage.

The one thousand and four hundredth anniversary of Bodhidharma, father of Chinese Zen Buddhism, was celebrated last autumn by followers of the Rinzai school of Zen in Kyoto. Public speeches were given at the Public Hall by eminent priests and scholars of the sect, and the meeting was attended by a large audience—so large indeed that the big Hall was not spacious enough to take all in. Bodhidharma, who is known popularly and also in history simply as Dharma or Daruma in Japanese (corresponding to Chinese Ta-mo), has gone through the singular fate of getting deeply involved in popular superstition and artistic and religious symbolism. Though we hardly think that there is any inherent necessity in the conception of Dharma as the founder of a religious school to be so treated by the Japanese, various accidents have contrived to see Dharma as a plaything for children, as a sign-board for paper-hangers, as decorative symbols of all kinds for industrial purposes. Mr. Chutaro Kido, of Kyoto, has made a most exhaustive collection of Dharma represented in every possible avenue of life. He has already spent about twenty years for this work, and, still anxious to enrich his collection, is ever ready to undertake even long journeys for the sake of a new discovery. A special hall was built by him to give a shelter to the collection, which may appropriately be called "Dharma Museum." He is planning to write an elaborate book on the subject fully illustrated. The figure of Bodhidharma as reproduced here is the oldest sculptural representation in Japan of the



The Earliest Statue of Bodhidharma Found
in Japan.

father of Zen. It bears the date, 1430, when it underwent a thorough repair. It is now kept at Empukuji, Yawata, near Osaka. Originally it was in Daruma-ji, Nara, where, according to tradition, Prince Shōtoku found Dharma in the form of a beggar. In fact, this temple is said to have been erected by the Prince himself wishing to commemorate this event—an interview between a royalty and a starving mendicant. How this tradition started is difficult to ascertain now. It is however very likely that even in those early days, i.e., early in the seventh century, some Indian Buddhist monks came over to Japan to propagate the doctrine of their teacher.

THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

An unsectarian magazine devoted to the study of Mahayana Buddhism

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EDITORS

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI

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THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

PASSIVITY IN THE BUDDHIST LIFE

Preliminary note.—I. The doctrine of Karma—The conception of Self—Mahayana Buddhism on the theory of Karma. II. The development of the idea of sin in Buddhism—A reality beyond self—A new phase in Buddhism. III. The psychology of passivity—Absolute passivism and libertinism—Passive life described—Passivity and Pure Land Buddhism—Passivity is accepting life as it is—Ignorance and passivity—Selflessness and emptiness. IV. Passivity and patience or humiliation—The story of Sadāprarudita Bodhisattva (from the *Ashtasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*). V. Prayer and Nembutsu—Practice of Zazen and passivity—The function of Koan in Zen. VI. The perfection of passivity in Buddhist life (from the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*)—Emptiness and the Zen life.

Preliminary Note

“Thy way, not mine, O Lord,
However dark it be;
Lead me by Thine own hand,
Choose out the path for me,
Smooth let it be or rough,
It will be still the best;
Winding or straight, it leads
Right onward to Thy rest.
Choose Thou for me my friends,
My sickness or my health;
Choose Thou my cares for me,
My poverty or wealth.
Not mine, not mine the choice
In things or great or small;
Be Thou my guide, my strength,
My wisdom, and my all.”¹

The feeling of passivity in religious experience, so typically given expression here, is universal and natural, seeing that the religious consciousness consists in realising, on the one hand, the helplessness of a finite being, and, on the other, the dependability of an infinite being, in whatever

¹ Horatius Bonar, 1808–1889.

way this may be conceived. The finite side of our being may protest saying, "Why hast thou forsaken me?" but while this protest possesses us there is no religious experience, we are not yet quite saved. For salvation comes only when we can say, "Father, unto thy hands I entrust my spirit," or "Lord, though thou slay me, yet will I trust thee." This is resignation or self-surrender, which is a state of passivity, ready to have "thy will" prevail upon a world of finite beings. This is the characteristic attitude of a religious mind towards life and the world; and we know that all religious experience is psychologically closely connected with the feeling of passivity. The object of the present article is to see how this feeling rules and in what forms it expresses itself in the Buddhist life.

I

The Doctrine of Karma

Superficially, passivity does not seem to be compatible with the intellectual tendency of Buddhism, which strongly emphasises the spirit of self-reliance as is seen in such passages as "The Bodhisattva-mahāsattva retiring into a solitude all by himself, should reflect within himself, by means of his own inner intelligence, and not depend upon anybody else;"¹ or as we read in the *Dhammapada*:

"By self alone is evil done,
By self is one disgraced;
By self is evil undone,
By self alone is he purified;
Purity and impurity belong to one;
No one can purify another."²

¹ *The Laṅkāvatāra*, p. 133, lines 10, 11. Bodhisattvo mahāsattva ekāki rahogataḥ svapratyātmabuddhyā vicārayaty aparapraṇeyah.

² Translated by A. J. Edmunds. *The Dhammapada*, 165.

Attanā 'va katanā pāpam attanā saṅkilissati,
Attanā akatanā pāpam attanā 'va visujjhati,
Suddhi asuddhi peccattaṃ nā 'ñño aññaṃ visodhaye.

Besides, the Four Noble Truths, the Twelfefold Chain of Origination, the Eightfold Path of Righteousness, etc.—all tend towards enlightenment and emancipation, and not towards absolute dependence or receptivity. “To see with one’s own eyes and be liberated” is the Buddhist motto, and there is apparently no room for passivity. For the latter can take place only when one makes oneself a receptacle for an outside power. The attainment of passivity in Buddhism is especially obstructed by the doctrine of Karma.

The doctrine of Karma runs like warp and weft through all the Indian fabrics of thought, and Buddhism as a product of the Indian imagination could not escape taking it into its own texture. The Jātaka Tales making up the history of the Buddha while he was yet at the stage of Bodhisattvahood and training himself for final supreme enlightenment, are no more than the idea of Karma concretely applied and illustrated in the career of a morally perfected personage. Śākyamuni could not become a Buddha unless he had accumulated his stock of merit (*kuśalamūla*) throughout his varied lives in the past.

The principle of Karma is “Whatever a man sows, that will he also reap,” and this governs the whole life of the Buddhist; for in fact what makes up one’s individuality is nothing else than his own Karma. So we read in the *Milindapañha*: “All beings have their Karma as their portion; they are heirs of their Karma; they are sprung from their Karma; their Karma is their refuge; Karma allots beings to meanness or greatness.”¹ This is confirmed in the *Samyukta-nikāya*:

“His good deeds and his wickedness,
Whate’er a mortal does while here;
’Tis this that he can call his own,
This with him take as he goes hence,
This is what follows after him,
And like a shadow ne’er departs.”²

¹ Quoted from Warren’s *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 255.

² Loc. cit., p. 214.

According to the *Visuddhimagga*, Chapter XIX, Karma is divisible into several groups as regards its time and order of fruition and its quality: (1) that which bears fruit in the present existence, that which bears fruit in rebirth, that which bears fruit at no fixed time, and bygone Karma; (2) the weighty Karma, the abundant, the close-at-hand, and the habitual; (3) the productive Karma, the supportive, the counteractive, and the destructive.¹ There is thus a round of Karma and a round of fruit going on all the time. And who is the bearer of Karma and its fruit?

“No doer is there does the deed,
Nor is there one who feels the fruit;
Constituent parts alone roll on;
This view alone is orthodox.

“And thus the deed, and thus the fruit
Roll on and on, each from its cause;
As of the round of tree and seed,
No one can tell when they began.

“Not in its fruit is found the deed,
Nor in the deed finds one the fruit;
Of each the other is devoid,
Yet there’s no fruit without the deed.

“Just as no store of fire is found
In jewel, cow-dung, or the sun,
Nor separate from these exists,
Yet short of fuel no fire is known;

“Even so we ne’er within the deed
Can retribution’s fruit descry.
Not yet in any place without;
Nor can in fruit the deed be found.

“Deeds separate from their fruits exist,
And fruits are separate from the deeds:
But consequent upon the deed
Fruit doth into being come.

¹ Warren, p. 245 ff.

“No god of heaven or Brahma-world
Doth cause the endless round of birth;
Constituent parts alone roll on,
From cause and from material sprung.”¹

The working of Karma is apparently quite impersonal as is explained in these quotations, and it may seem altogether indifferent for anybody whether he did something good or bad. There is no doer of deeds, nor is there any sufferer of their fruit. The five Aggregates or constituent parts (*skandhās*) are combined and dissolved in accordance with the inevitable law of Karma, but as long as there is no personal agent at the back of all this, who really feels the value of Karma, it does not seem to matter what kind of deeds is committed and what kind of fruit is brought forth. Still the Buddhists are advised not to practise wickedness:

“If a man do wrong,
Let him not do it repeatedly,
Let him not take pleasure therein;
Painful is wrong’s accumulation.”²

Why painful? Why pleasurable? The Hinayanist reasoning is logically thoroughgoing, but when it comes to the question of practical psychology, mere reasoning does not avail. Is the feeling no more real than the mere bundling together of the five Aggregates? The combination, that is, unity seems to be more than the fact of combination. Whatever this is, as I am not going to discuss the doctrine of Karma here in detail, let it suffice to give another quotation from Nāgārjuna’s *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*, Chapter XVII, where the doctrine of Karma appears in a new garment.³

“All sentient beings are born according to their Karma:

¹ Warren, pp. 248–9.

² *The Dhammapāda*, 117, translated by A. J. Edmunds.

³ Edited by Louis de la Vallée Poussin. Pp. 302 ff. For a detailed exposition of the theory of Karma, see the *Abhidharmakośa* (translated by the same author), Chapter IV; what follows is an abstract.

good people are born in the heavens, the wicked in the hells, and those who practise the Paths of Righteousness realise Nirvana. By disciplining himself in the Six Virtues of Perfection, a man is able to benefit his fellow-beings in various ways, and this is sure in turn to bring blessings upon him, not only in this but also in the next life. Karma may be of two sorts: inner or mental, which is called *cetanā* (思, 'intention'), and physical, expressing itself in speech and bodily movement. This is technically known as Karma 'after having intended' (從思生, *cetayitvā*). Karma may also be regarded as with or without 'intimation' (or 'indication' *vijñapti*, 表 or 作). An act with intimation is one the purpose of which is perceptible by others, while an act without intimation is not at all expressed in physical movements; it follows when a strong act with intimation is performed and awakens the tendency in the mind of the actor to perform deeds of a similar nature, either good or bad.

"It is like a seed from which a young plant shoots out and bears fruit by the principle of continuity; apart from the seed there is no continuity; and because of this continuity there is fruition. The seed comes first and then the fruit, between them there is neither discontinuity nor constancy. Since the awakening of a first motive, there follows an uninterrupted series of mental activities, and from this there is fruition. Apart from the first stirring of the mind, there will be no stream of thoughts expressing themselves in action. Thus there is a continuity of Karma and its fruit. Therefore, when the ten deeds of goodness and purity are performed, the agent is sure to enjoy happiness in this life and be born after death among celestial beings.

"There is something in Karma that is never lost even after its performance; this something called *avipraṇāśa* (不失法, 'not lost', or 'unlosable', or 'indestructible') is like a deed of contract, and Karma, an act, is comparable to debt. A man may use up what he has borrowed, but owing to the document he has some day to pay the debt back to the

creditor. This 'unlosable' is always left behind even after Karma and is not destroyed by philosophical intuition (*darśanamārga*, 見道). If it is thus destructible, Karma will never come to fruition. The only power that counteracts this 'unlosable' is moral discipline (*bhāvanamārga*, 修道). Every Karma once committed continues to work out its consequence by means of the 'unlosable' until its course is thwarted by the attainment of Arhatship or by death, or when it has finally borne its fruit. This law of Karma applies equally to good and bad deeds."

While Nāgārjuna's idea is to wipe out all such notions as doer, deed, and sufferer, in other words, the entire structure of Karma-theory, this introduction of the idea "unlosable" is instructive and full of suggestions. Taking all in all, however, there is much obscurity in the doctrine of Karmaic continuity, especially when its practical working is to be precisely described, and theoretically too, we are not quite sure of its absolute tenability. But this we can state of it in a most general way that Karma tends to emphasise individual freedom, moral responsibility, and feeling of independence; and further, from the religious point of view, it does not necessitate the postulate of a God, or creator, or moral judge, who passes judgments over human behaviour, good or bad.

This being the case, the Buddhist conviction that life is pain will inevitably lead to a systematic teaching of self-discipline, self-purification, and self-enlightenment, the moral centre of gravity being always placed on the self, and not on any outside agent. This is the principle of Karma applied to the realisation of Nirvana. But we may ask, What is this Self? And again, What is that something that is never "lost" in a Karma committed either mentally or physically? What is the connection between "self" and the "unlosable"? Where does this "unlosable" lodge itself? Between the Buddhist doctrine of no-ego-substance and the postulate that there should be something "not to be

lost" in the continuation of Karma-force, which makes the latter safely bear fruit, there is a gap which must be bridged somehow if Buddhist philosophy is to make further development. To my mind, the conception of the *Ālayavijñāna* ("all-conserving soul") where all the Karma-seeds are deposited was an inevitable consequence. But in the meantime let us see what "self" really stands for.

The Conception of Self

"Self" is a very complex and elusive idea, and when we say that one is to be responsible for what one does by oneself, we do not exactly know how far this "self" goes and how much it includes in itself. For individuals are so intimately related to one another not only in one communal life but in the totality of existence—so intimately indeed that there are really no individuals, so to speak, in the absolute sense of the word. Individuality is merely an aspect of existence; in thought we separate one individual from another and in reality too we all seem to be distinct and separable. But when we reflect on the question more closely we find that individuality is a fiction, for we cannot fix its limits, we cannot ascertain its extents and boundaries, they become mutually merged without leaving any indelible marks between the so-called individuals. A most penetrating state of interrelationship prevails here, and it seems to be more exact to say that individuals do not exist, they are merely so many points of reference, the meaning of which is not at all realisable when each of them is considered by itself and in itself apart from the rest. Individuals are recognisable only when they are thought of in relation to something not individual; though paradoxical, they are individuals so long as they are not individuals. For when an individual being is singled out as such, it at once ceases to be an individual. The "individual self" is an illusion.

Thus, the self has no absolute, independent existence. Moral responsibility seems to be a kind of intellectual make-

shift. Can the robber be really considered responsible for his deeds? Can this individual be really singled out as the one who has to suffer all the consequences of his anti-social habits? Can he be held really responsible for all that made him such as he is? Is his *svabhāva* all his own make? This is where lies the main crux of the question. "How far is an individual to be answerable for his action?" In other words, "How far is this 'he' separable from the community of which he is a component part?" Is not society reflected in him? Is he not one of the products created by society? There are no criminals, no sinful souls in the Pure Land, not necessarily because no such are born there but mainly because all that are born there become pure by virtue of the general atmosphere into which they are brought up. Although environment is not everything, it, especially social environment, has a great deal to do with the shaping of individual characters. If this is the case, where shall we look for the real signification of the doctrine of Karma?

The intellect wants to have a clear-cut, well-delineated figure to which a deed or its "unlosable" something has to be attached, and Karma becomes mathematically describable as having its originator, perpetrator, sufferer, etc. But when there are really no individuals and Karma is to be conceived as nowhere originated by any specifically definable agent, what would become of the doctrine of Karma as advocated by Buddhists? Evidently, there is an act, either good or bad or indifferent; there is one who actually thrusts a dagger, and there is one who actually lies dead thus stabbed; and yet shall we have to declare that there is no killer, no killing, and none killed? What will then become of moral responsibility? How can there be such a thing as accumulation of merit or attainment of enlightenment? Who is after all a Buddha, and who is an ignorant, confused mortal?

Can we say that society, nay, the whole universe is responsible for the act of killing if this fact is once established? and that all the causes and conditions leading to it

and all the results that are to be connected with it are to be traced to the universe itself? Or is it that the individual is an ultimate absolute fact and what goes out from him comes back to him without any relation to his fellow-beings and to his environment, social and physical? In the first case, moral responsibility evaporates into an intangible universality; in the second case, the intangible whole gets crystallised in one individual, and there is indeed moral responsibility, but one stands altogether in isolation as if each of us were like a grain of sand in no relation to its neighbours. Which of these positions is more exactly in conformity with facts of human experience? When this is applied to the Buddhist doctrine of Karma, the question comes to this: Is Buddhist Karma to be understood individually or cosmologically?

Mahayana Buddhism on the Theory of Karma

As far as history goes, Buddhism started with the individualistic interpretation of Karma, and when it reached its culminating point of development in the rise of Mahayana, the doctrine came to be cosmically understood. But not in the vague, abstract, philosophical way as was referred to before but concretely and spiritually in this wise: the net of the universe spreads out both in time and space from the centre known as "myself," where it is felt that all the sins of the world are resting on his own shoulders, and that to atone for them he is determined to subject himself to a system of moral and spiritual training which he considers would cleanse him of all impurities and by cleansing him cleanse also the whole world of all its demerits. This is the Mahayana position. Indeed, the distinction between the Mahayana and the Hinayana form of Buddhism may be said to be due to this difference in the treatment of Karma-conception. The Mahayana thus came to emphasise the "other" or "whole" aspect of Karma, and, therefore, of universal salvation while the Hinayana adhered to the "self" aspect.

As Karma worked, according to the Hinayanists, apparently impersonally but in point of fact individualistically, this life of pain and suffering was to be got rid of by self-discipline, by moral asceticism, and self-knowledge, nobody outside could help the sufferer out of his afflictions, all that the Buddha could do for him was to teach him the way to escape, but if he did not walk this way by himself, he could not be made to go straight ahead even by the power and virtue of the Buddha. "Be ye a lamp and a refuge to yourselves," (*attadīpa-attasarana*), was the injunction left by the Buddha to his Hinayana followers; for the Buddha could not extend his spiritual virtue and attainment over to his devotees or to his fellow-beings. From the general position of the Hinayanists, this was inevitable:

"Not in the sky,
Not in the midst of the sea,
Nor entering a cleft of the mountains,
Is found that realm on earth
Where one may stand and be
From an evil deed absolved."¹

But the Mahayana was not satisfied with this narrowness of spiritual outlook, the Mahayana wanted to extend the function of Karuṇā (love) to the furthest end it could reach. If one's Prajñā (wisdom) could include in itself the widest possible system of universes, why could not Karuṇā too take them all under its protective wings? Why could not the Buddha's wish (*praṇidhāna*) for the spiritual welfare of all beings also efficiently work towards its realisation? The Buddha attained his enlightenment after accumulating so much stock of merit for ever so many countless kalpas, and should we conceive this stock of merit to be available only for his own benefit? Karma must have its cosmological meaning. In fact, individuals are such in so far as they are thought of in connection with one another and also with

¹ *The Dhammapada*, 127. Translated by Albert J. Edmunds.

the whole system which they compose. One wave good or bad once stirred, could not help affecting the entire body of water. So with the moral discipline and the spiritual attainment of the Buddha, they could not remain with him as an isolated event in the communal life to which he belonged. Therefore, it is said that when he was enlightened the whole universe shared in his wisdom and virtue. The Mahayana stands on this fundamental idea of enlightenment, and its doctrine of the Tathāgatagarbha or Ālayavijñāna reflects the cosmological interpretation of Karma.

II

The Development of the Idea of Sin in Buddhism

As long as Hinayana Buddhism restricted the application of Karma to individual deeds, its followers tried to overcome it by self-discipline. Life was pain, and pain was the product of one's former misconduct, and to release oneself from it, it was necessary to move a force counteracting it. Things thus went on quite scientifically with the Hinayanists, but when the Mahayanists came to see something in Karma that was more than individual, that would not be kept within the bounds of individuality, their scheme of salvation had to go naturally beyond the individualism of the Hinayanistic discipline. The "self-power" was not strong enough to cope with the problem of cosmological Karma, and to rely upon this self as segregated from the totality of sentient beings was not quite right and true. For the self is not a final fact, and to proceed in one's own religious discipline with the erroneous idea of selfhood will ultimately lead one to an undesirable end and possibly bear no fruit whatever. A new phase was now awakened in the religious consciousness of the Buddhist, which had hitherto been only feebly felt by the Hinayanists; for with the cosmic

sense of Karma thus developed there came along the idea of sin.

In Buddhism sin means ignorance, that is, ignorance as to the meaning of the individual or the ultimate destiny of the self. Positively, sin is the affirmation of the self as a final *svabhāva* in deed, thought, and speech. When a man is above these two hindrances, ignorance and self-assertion, he is said to be sinless. How to rise above them, therefore, is now the question with the Mahayanists.

Calderon, a noted Spanish dramatist, writes: "For the greatest crime of man is that he ever was born." This statement is quite true since sin consists in our ever coming into existence as individuals severed from the wholeness of things. But as long as this fact cannot be denied from one point of view, we must try to nullify its evil effects by veering our course to another direction. And this veering can take place only by identifying ourselves with the cosmos itself, with the totality of existence, with Buddhata in which we have our being. The inevitability of sin thus becomes the chance of devoting ourselves to a higher plane of existence where a principle other than Karmaic individualism and self-responsibility reigns.

When Karma was conceived to be controllable by the self, the task of releasing oneself from its evil effects was comparatively an easy one, for it concerned after all the self alone; but if it is sin to believe in the ultimate reality of an individual soul and to act accordingly, as if salvation depended only on self-disciplining or on self-enlightenment, the Mahayanist's work is far greater than the Hinayanist's. As this goes beyond the individual, something more than individual must operate in the Mahayanist heart to make its work effective. The so-called self must be aided by a power transcending the limitations of the self, which, however, must be immanently related to it; for otherwise there cannot be a very harmonious and really mutually-helping activity between the self and the not-self. In fact, the idea of sin,

and hence the feeling of pain and suffering, is produced from the lack of a harmonious relationship between what is thought to be "myself" and what is not. The religious experience with the Mahayanists is to be described in more comprehensive terms than with the Hinayanists.

A Reality Beyond Self

Buddhatā or Dharmatā is the name given by the Mahayanists to that which is not the self and yet which is in the self. By virtue of this, the Mahayanists came to the consciousness of sin and at the same time to the possibility of enlightenment. Buddhatā is the essence of Buddhahood, without which this is never attained in the world. When the Buddha is conceived impersonally or objectively, it is the Dharma, law, truth, or reality; and Dharmatā is what constitutes the Dharma. Dharmatā and Buddhatā are interchangeable, but the experience of the Mahayanists is described more in terms of Buddhatā.

With the conception of Buddhatā, the historical Buddha turns into a transcendental Buddha; he ceases to be merely the Muni of the Śākya, he now is a manifestation of the eternal Buddha, an incarnation of Buddhatā, and as such he is no more an individual limited in space and time, his spirituality goes out from him and whatever power it has will influence his fellow-beings in their advance or development towards Buddhahood. This will take place in proportion to the intensity of desire and the sincerity of effort they put forward for the attainment of the goal. The goal consists in getting cleansed of sin, and sin consists in believing in the reality of self-substance (*svabhāva*), in asserting its claims as final, and in not growing conscious of the immanency of Buddhatā in oneself. The cleansing of sin is, therefore, intellectually seeing into the truth that there is something more in what is taken for the self, and conatively in willing and doing the will of that something which transcends the self and yet which works through the self.

This is where lies the difficulty of the Mahayanist position—to be encased in what we, relative-minded beings, consider the self and yet to go beyond it and to know and will what apparently does not belong to the self. This is almost trying to achieve an impossibility, and yet if we do not achieve this, there will be no peace of mind, no quieting of soul. We have to do it somehow when we once tumble over the question in the course of our religious experience. How is this to be accomplished?

That we are sinful, does not mean in Buddhism that we have so many evil impulses, desires, or proclivities, which, when released, are apt to cause the ruination of oneself as well as others; the idea goes deeper and is rooted in our being itself, for it is sin to imagine and act as if individuality were a final fact. As long as we are what we are, we have no way to escape from sin, and this is at the root of all our spiritual tribulations. This is what the followers of Shin Buddhism mean when they say that all works, even when they are generally considered morally good, are contaminated, as long as they are the efforts of "self-power," and do not lift us from the bondage of Karma. The power of *Buddhatā* must be added over to the self or must replace it altogether if we desire for emancipation. *Buddhatā*, if it is immanent—and we cannot think it otherwise, must be awakened so that it will do its work for us who are so oppressed under the limitations of individualism.

The awakening and working of *Buddhatā* in mortal sinful beings is not accomplished by logic and discursive argument as is attested by the history of religion. In spite of the predominantly intellectual tendency of Buddhism, it teaches us to appeal to something else. The deep consciousness of sin, the intensity of desire to be released from the finality of individual existence, and the earnestness of effort put forward to awaken *Buddhatā*—these are the chief conditions. The psychological experience resulting therefrom will naturally be connected with the feeling of passivity.

A New Phase of Buddhism

Buddhism whose intellectual tendency interpreted the doctrine of Karma individualistically in spite of its teaching of non-ego (*anatta*), has at last come to release us all from the iron fetters of Karma by appealing to the conception of Buddhatā. Finite beings become thus relieved of the logical chain of causation in a world of spirits, but at the same time the notion of sin which is essentially attached to them as limited in time and space has taken possession of their religious consciousness. For sin means finite beings' helplessness of transcending themselves. And if this be the case, to get rid of sin will be to abandon themselves to the care of an infinite being, that is to say, to desist from attempting to save themselves, but to bring about a spiritual state of passiveness whereby to prepare the ground for the entrance of a reality greater than themselves. Thus sings Wordsworth:

“Nor less I deem that there are powers
Which of themselves our minds impress;
That we can feed this mind of ours
In a wise passiveness.

“Think you, 'mid all this mighty sum
Of things for ever speaking,
That nothing of itself will come
But we must still be seeking?

“—Then ask not wherefore, here, alone,
Conversing as I may,
I sit upon this old grey stone,
And dream my time away.”

We can thus say that Karma is understood by the Mahayanists rather cosmologically, or that the super-individualistic aspect of Karma came to assert its importance more than its individualistic aspect. Nāgārjuna's attempt to nullify Karma is the negative side of this evolution which

has taken place in the history of Buddhism. As long as Karma was conceived individualistically by Hinayanists, there was no room for them to entertain a feeling of passivity. But with the Mahayanist interpretation of Karma a sense of overwhelming oppression came to possess the minds of the Buddhists, because Karma was now understood to have a far deeper, stronger, and wider foundation than hitherto thought of. It grew out of the cosmos itself, against which finite individuals were altogether powerless. This feeling of helplessness naturally turned the Mahayanists towards a being who could overcome the enormity of Karma-force.

There was another factor in the religious consciousness of the Mahayanists which made them ever persistent in applying to the super-individualistic powers of Buddhatā. By this I mean the feeling of compassion (*karuṇā*) going beyond individualism. This is an annoying feeling, to say the least; it goes directly against the instinct of self-preservation. But there is no doubt that its roots are deeply laid, and in fact it makes up the very foundation of human nature. Compassion then walks hand in hand with sorrow, for a compassionate soul is always sorrowful, when he observes how ignorant and confused the world is and grows conscious of something in himself that makes him feel his own participation in universal confusion and iniquity. The sense of sin is the outcome of all this. Perhaps here lies one of the reasons why the practice of asceticism has a strong appeal to the religiously-minded who feel a shadow of penitence not always realising exactly why they do. When the overwhelming force of Karma is thus combined with compassion, sorrow, and even sin, the attitude of the Buddhist towards himself assumes an altogether different aspect, he is no more a self-reliant individualist, he now wants to identify himself with a power that holds in itself the whole universe with all its multitudinousness.

III

The Psychology of Passivity

Passivity is essentially psychological, and to interpret it metaphysically or theologically is another question. The feeling that one has been cleansed of sin is passive as far as the sinner's consciousness is concerned. This subjectivism may be objectively verified or may not. But to say that in this consciousness there is absolutely no other feeling than passivity is not correct. This feeling which came upon us indeed quite abruptly or without our being conscious of every step of its progress, is no doubt predominant especially when we know that with the utmost voluntary efforts we could not induce a state of liberation. But when the feeling is analysed and its component factors are determined, we realise that this passivity is made possible only when there is something intensely active within ourselves. Let this active background be all blank, absolutely colourless, and there is not even a shadow of passivity felt there. The very fact that it is felt to be passive proves that there is a power on our side that prepares itself to be in a state of receptiveness. The exclusive "other-power" theory which is sometimes maintained by advocates of the Shin school of Buddhism as well as by the Christian quietists is not tenable.

While a man is attached to individualism, asserting it consciously or unconsciously, he always has a feeling of oppression which he may interpret as sin; and while the mind is possessed by it, there is no room for the "other-power" to enter and work, the way is effectively barred. It is quite natural, therefore, for him to imagine that with the removal of the bar he became altogether empty. But the removal of the bar does not mean utter emptiness, absolute nothingness. If this is the case, there will be nothing for the "other-power" to work on. The abandoning of the "self-power" is the occasion for the "other-power" to

appear at the scene, the abandoning and the appearance take place simultaneously; it is not that the abandoning comes first, and the ground remaining empty there is a vacancy, and finally the "other-power" comes in to claim this vacuity. The facts of experience do not justify this supposition, for nothing can work in a vacuity. On the contrary, there must be a point to which the "other-power" can fix itself, or a form into which it can, as it were, squeeze itself; this self-determination of the "other-power" is impossible if there is nothing but an absolute emptiness of passivity. The suppression of the self does not mean its utter annihilation, but its perfect readiness to receive a higher power into it. In this receptivity we must not forget that there is a power which receives, which has been made passive. The absolute "other-power" doctrine is not psychologically valid, nor metaphysically tenable.

Absolute Passivism and Libertinism

The doctrine of absolute passivity is frequently productive of disastrous consequences in two ways. The one may be called negative as it tends to quietism, laziness, contemplative absorption, or all-annihilating Dhyana or Nirodha; while the other is decidedly positive, being quite aggressive and self-assertive in its practical functioning as is shown, for instance, by the doctrine and life of the advocates of the Free Spirit in the fourteenth century. When the "I" is completely annihilated and altogether replaced by God, it is not then the "I" that thinks, desires, and moves about, but God himself; he has taken complete possession of this "I", he works through it, he desires in it. The following¹ is an extract from Ruysbroeck's *The Twelve Beguines*, in which he gives the position of the Free Spirit sect in Belgium quite clearly:

¹ Quoted in A. Wantier D'Aygalliers' *Ruysbroeck the Admirable*, p. 46.

"Without me, God would have neither knowledge nor will nor power, for it is I, with God, who have created my own personality and all things. From my hands are suspended heaven, earth, and all creatures. Whatever honour is paid to God, it is to me that it is paid, for in my essential being I am by nature God. For myself, I neither hope nor love, and I have no faith, no confidence in God. I have nothing to pray for, nothing to implore, for I do not render honour to God above myself. For in God there is no distinction, neither Father nor Son nor Holy Spirit.... since with this God I am one, and am even that which he isand which, without me, he is not."

Another writer quotes the following dialogue¹ between a Free Spirit brother and his questioner:

"What is freedom of the Spirit?" Conrad Kannler is asked by Ebernard de Freyenhäusen the inquisitor.

"It exists when all remorse of conscience ceases and man can no longer sin."

"Hast thou attained to this stage of perfection?"

"Yes, so much so that I can advance in grace, for I am one with God and God is one with me."

"Is a brother of the Free Spirit obliged to obey authority?"

"No, he owes obedience to no man, nor is he bound by the precepts of the Church. If any one prevents him from doing as he pleases, he has the right to kill him. He may follow all the impulses of his nature; he does not sin in yielding to his desires."

Antinomianism upholds a life of instinct and intuition, and it works in either way, good or bad, according to the fundamental disposition of the agent. All religious life tends towards antinomianism, especially that of the mystic. It grows immoral and dangerous when the reason is too weak to assert itself or is kept in the background in too subordinate a position. This frequently takes place with those whose sense of passivity and so-called spiritual freedom

¹ A. Allier, *Les Frères du Libre-Esprit*, quoted by A. Wautier D'Aygalliers in his *Ruysbroeck*, p. 43.

are allied with one another as they are apt to be, and the result is inimical. Read the following passage from D'Aygaliers (pp. 46-47), in which the author describes the view of certain followers of the Free Spirit:

"Hence they go so far as to say that so long as man has a tendency to virtues and desires to do God's very precious will, he is still imperfect, being preoccupied with the acquiring of things. . . . Therefore, they think they can never either believe in virtues, or have additional merit, or commit sins. . . . Consequently, they are able to consent to every desire of the lower nature, for they have reverted to a state of innocence, and laws no longer apply to them. Hence, if the nature is prone to that which gives it satisfaction, and if, in resisting it, mental idleness must, however slightly, be either checked or distracted, they obey the instincts of nature. They are all forerunners of Antichrist, preparing the way for incredulity of every kind. They claim indeed to be free, outside of commandments and virtues. To say what pleases them and never to be contradicted, to retain their own will and in subjection to no one: that is what they call spiritual freedom. Free in their flesh, they give the body what it desires. . . . To them the highest sanctity for man consists in following without compulsion and in all things his natural instinct, so that he may abandon himself to every impulse in satisfying the demands of the body. . . . They wish to sin and indulge in their impure practices without fear or qualms of conscience."

That when the mystic has the feeling that he is entirely possessed of God, or something greater than himself, he is apt to give himself up to a life of sensuousness, is psychologically explainable, for there is a tendency in all religion to assert instincts or native impulses not controlled by reasoned morality. When existence is accepted as it is as part of the inconceivable wisdom of the Buddha or God, the acceptance often involves acquiescence in all ills the flesh is heir to. This is why orthodoxy is always reluctant to lend its ear unconditionally to the gospel of passivism. Grave dangers are always lurking here. The Shin teacher's an-

nouncement that "you are saved just as you are," or the doctrine that Amida's all-embracing love takes in all sinful mortals with their sins and defilements even unwashed, is full of pitfalls unless it is tempered by sound reasoning and strong moral feeling. The injunctions such as "Take no thought of your life," or "Take no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself," are fine and Buddhists too will whole-heartedly uphold the truth contained in them, but at the same time we must realise that this kind of momentarism is a life essentially at one with that of the fowls of the air and the lilies of the field, and harbours the possibility of sliding headlong into the abyss of libertinism or antinomianism. True religion, therefore, always shuns absolute subjectivism, and rightly so. Still we can ill afford to ignore the claims of the mystic so simply and innocently expressed in the following life of a pious Buddhist, where there is nothing of the aggressive assertions of Brothers of the Free Spirit.

Kichibei was a wealthy farmer of Idzumo province, but when his religious consciousness was awakened he could no more rest satisfied with his old conditions. He sold all his estate and with the money thus realised he wandered about from one place to another to get instructed in Shin Buddhism. Later he sold out even his godowns, furniture, and house itself, thus freeing himself from all his earthly treasures, he devoted himself to the study of Buddhism, that is, he was never tired of travelling far and near listening to the religious discourses of Shin teachers. Many, many years passed like that and his neighbours used to remark, "Kichibei goes around in sandals made of gold," meaning that all his money and property had gone into his religion. He did not at all mind his poverty, saying, "Enough is the living for the day." At seventy he was still peddling fish to get his daily livelihood, though his earning was no more than a few *tōbyaku* (pennies). When a neighbouring child brought him one day a bunch of flowers, he was very grateful, "By

the grace of Amida I live this day to make him this flower-offering"; he went up to the altar. The child was rewarded for it with two pieces of *tōbyaku*, the earning of that day.¹

Is not such a Buddhist a good follower of Jesus too? He had no thought for the morrow, and in these modern days of economic stress how would he have fared? In spite of all this, there is something most captivating in a life like Kichibei's. Rolle speaks of "a contemplative man [who] is turned towards the unseen light with so great a longing that men often consider him a fool or mad, because his heart is so on fire with the love of Christ. Even his bodily appearance is changed, and is so far removed from other men that it seems as if God's child were a lunatic."² "God's fool" or "God's lunatic" are expressive terms. Kichibei was surely changed in his appearance and had become a splendid lunatic.

The Passive Life Described

The psychological state of such religious belief can be explained in the language of Madam Guyon as follows:³

"I speak to you, my dear brother, without reserve. And, in the first place, my soul, as it seems to me, is united to God in such a manner that my own will is entirely lost in the Divine Will. I live, therefore, as well as I can express it, out of myself and all other creatures, in union with God, because in union with His will. . . . It is thus that God, by His sanctifying grace, has come to me All in All. The self which once troubled me is taken away, and I find it no more. And thus God, being made known in things and events, which is the only way in which the I AM, or Infinite Existence, can be made known, everything becomes in a certain sense God to me. I find God in everything which is, and in everything which comes to pass. The creature is nothing; God is ALL."

¹ *Anjin Shōwa* (安心小話), XVIII.

² *The Amending of Life*, edited by H. L. Hubbard (1922), p. 91.

³ A letter to her brother Gregory as quoted in Thomas C. Upham's *Life and Experience of Madam Guyon*, p. 305 et seq.

Thomas C. Upham further gives, according to Madame Guyon's autobiography and other literary material, his own version of the conversation which took place between her and Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, at this time confessedly the "leader of the French Church." The conversation is quite illuminating as regards the quietist point of view of religious experience, and I allow myself to quote the following:

Bossuet.—I notice that the terms and phrases which you employ, sometimes differ from those with which I frequently meet in theological writings. And perhaps the reason, which you have already suggested, explains it in part. But still they are liable to be misunderstood and to lead into error; and hence it is necessary to ascertain precisely what is meant. You sometimes describe what you consider the highest state of religious experience as a state of *passivity*; and at other times as *passively active*. I confess, Madame, that I am afraid of expressions which I do not fully understand, and have the appearance at least of being somewhat at variance with man's moral agency and accountability.

Madame Guyon.—I am not surprised, sir, at your reference to these expressions; and still I hardly know what other expressions to employ. I will endeavour to explain. In the early periods of man's religious experience, he is in what may be called *a mixed life*; sometimes acting from God, but more frequently, until he has made considerable advancement, acting from himself. His inward movement, until it becomes corrected by Divine grace, is self-originated, and is characterised by that perversion which belongs to everything coming from that source. But when the soul, in the possession of pure or perfect love, is fully converted, and everything in it is subordinated to God, then its state is always either passive or passively active.

But I am willing to concede, which will perhaps meet your objection, that there are some reasons for preferring the term *passively active*; because the sanctified soul, although it no longer has a will of its own, is never strictly inert. Under all circumstances and in all cases, there is really a distinct act on the part of the soul, namely, *an act of co-operation* with God; although in some cases, it is a simple co-operation with what *now is*, and constitutes the religious

state of submissive acquiescence and patience; while in others it is a co-operation with reference to what *is to be*, and implies future results, and consequently is a state of movement and performance.

Bossuet.—I think, Madame, I understand you. There is a distinction undoubtedly in the two classes of cases just mentioned; but as the term *passively active*, will apply to both of them, I think it is to be preferred. You use this complex term, I suppose, because there are two distinct acts or operations to be expressed, namely, the act of preparatory or *prevenient* grace on the part of God, and the co-operative act on the part of the creature; the soul being passive, or merely perceptive, in the former; and active, although always in accordance with the Divine leading, in the other.

“Passively active,” or “actively passive,” either will describe the mentality of the quietist type of the mystic. He is not generally conscious of his own active part in his religious experience, and may wish to ignore this part altogether on the ground of his religious philosophy. But, as I said before, there is no absolutely passive state of mind, for this would mean perfect emptiness, and to be passive means that there is something ready to receive. Even God cannot work where there is nothing to work on or with. Passivity is a relative term indicating a not fully analysed state of consciousness. In our religious life, passivity comes as the culmination of strenuous activity; passivity without this preliminary condition is sheer inanity, in which there will be no consciousness, from the very first, even of any form of passivity. “I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.” This is passivism as far as somebody else, and not the self has taken possession of that which liveth, but that which liveth stays there all the time. “Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God.” (Colos. III, 3.) Something in you is dead, which is to die sooner or later, but that which is to live keeps on living. This does not mean that you are altogether annihilated, but that you are living in the most lively sense of the word. Living is an activity, in fact the highest form of activity. Absolute passivity is death itself.

Passivity and Pure Land Buddhism

It is in the Pure Land school that the idea of passivity is most clearly traceable in Buddhism, though even in the Holy Path school it is not quite absent. Shinran, a great advocate of the *Tariki* (other-power) doctrine, naturally upholds passivity in the religious life of his followers. His idea is manifest in such passages as this, in which he repudiates "self-power" or "self-will" (*hakarai*). "By 'self-power' is meant," says he, "the self-will of the [Holy Path] devotees, relying on which each of them, as he finds himself variously situated in the circumstances of life, invokes the Buddha-names other [than Amida], disciplines himself in good works other [than invoking the name of Amida]; he upholds his own will, by which he attempts to remedy all the disturbances arising from the body, speech, and thought, and, thus making himself wholesome, he wishes to be reborn in the Land of Purity. The 'other-power' devotees, on the other hand, put their whole-hearted faith in the original vow of Amida, as is expressed in the Eighteenth Vow in which he vows to receive all beings to his Land of Purity if they only recite his name and desire to be saved through him. In this, says the Holy One, there is no human scheme because there is here only the scheme of the Tathagata's vow. By 'human scheme' is meant 'self-will', and 'self-will' is self-power which is a human scheme. As to 'other power,' it is a whole-hearted belief in the original vow, and as the devotee is thus assured of his rebirth in Amida's land, there is no human scheme in the whole procedure. And, therefore, again he need not feel any anxiety in his mind as to whether he will be welcomed by the Tathagata because of his sinfulness. Let him remain undisturbed, even with all his passions, because they belong by nature to him as an ignorant and sinful mortal, nor let him imagine himself that he shall be reborn in Amida's land because of his good will and good conduct. For as long as he has the mind of relying on his

'self-will,' he has no chance for rebirth in the Pure Land."¹

Shinran's vocabulary is rich in such phrases as "artless art," or "meaningless meaning," (無義の義), "no scheming whatever" (はからひなき), "naturalness," or "suchness," or "the natural course of things" (自然法爾), "the passage of absolute freedom" or "unobstructed path" (無礙の道), "beyond the intelligence or contrivance of the ignorant" as it is the will of the Buddha, "an absolute trust in the Tathagata's vow which is not tinged with human contrivance," "the great believing heart is Buddhatā and Buddhatā is the Tathagata," etc.

The ultimate meaning of all these phrases, so common in the lexicon of Shin Buddhism, is the upholding of passivity in the psychology of its followers. Let Amida work out his original vow as he made it in the beginning of his religious career, which means, "Let us believe in it wholeheartedly and it will find its way inevitably, naturally, spontaneously, and without any contrivance on our part, into our sinful hearts and take us up into his Land of Bliss and Purity, after our death." While we are living here on earth as the result of our past Karma, bound by the laws of the flesh and driven by the instinctive and uncontrollable urge of life, we cannot escape its course, but so long as there is the original vow of Amida which has proved efficient in his own attainment of supreme enlightenment, we need not worry about the sinful urge of our earthly life. Absolute faith puts an end to our spiritual tribulations which annoy us on account of our sins. Sins themselves as they are committed by us mortals may not be eradicated, for as long as we are relative existences, limited and governed by forces beyond our "self-power" to control, we cannot rid ourselves completely of defiled passions and desires and impulses. In spite of this fact, we are not troubled about sin, because our sin no more affects our life after death: have we not already been saved by the original vow of Amida which we have un-

¹ *The Mattōshō*, 末燈抄.

conditionally accepted? Was it not our worry about our after-death life, or immortality as the Christians would put it, that made us feel concerned about this sinful state of affairs on earth? It is not that we keep on sinning, or that we take delight in sinning, as some antinomians would, indeed we feel gravely concerned about sinning: but this sinning no longer shakes our faith in Amida and our final enlightenment and emancipation. The soul is no more disturbed, and with all its sins and regrets and lamentations it retains its sincerity, its hope, and its transcendental joy.

Richard Rolle, the author of *The Amending of Life*, was a Christian mystic of the fourteenth century. His idea of sin and purity of heart has much to remind us of the view presented above. He writes (pp. 75-76):

"Who can truly say 'I am free from sin?' No one in this life; for as Job says, 'If I wash myself with snow water and make my hands never so clean, yet shalt thou plunge me in the ditch, and mine own clothes shall abhor me.' 'If I washed myself with snow water' meaning true penitence; 'and make my hands never so clean' by works of innocence, 'yet shalt thou plunge me in the ditch' of venial sins that cannot be avoided, 'and mine own clothes shall abhor me,' that is to say, my flesh makes me loathe myself, and sensuality that is so frail, slippery, and ready to love the beauty of this world, often makes me sin. The apostle said, 'Let not sin reign in your mortal body,' that is to say, 'Sin must be in us, but it need not rule over us.' . . . Though he sometimes commit a venial offence, yet henceforth, because his whole heart is turned to God, sin is destroyed. The fire of love burns up in him all stain of sin, as a drop of water cast into a furnace is consumed."

Here lies the teaching of "other-power" Buddhism in a nutshell, and here also the signification of passivity in the psychology of Buddhism.

Ichirenin (1788-1860) was a modern follower of the "other-power" school; he used to teach in the following manner:¹ "If you have yet something worrying you, how-

¹ 安心小話, "Talks on Mental Peace."

ever trivial it may be, your faith in Amida is not absolute. When you have a feeling of unrest, this is of course far from believing in Amida; but even when you are rejoicing as having at last found rest, this is not real rest either. To make strenuous effort because you have not yet gained a restful heart, is also not quite right. To put your belief to a test wishing to know if it is firmly resting on Amida, is again wrong. Why? Because all these are attempts to look into your own mind, you are turned away from Amida, you are wrongly oriented. Indeed, it is easy to say, 'Abandon your self-power,' but after all how difficult it is! I, therefore, repeat over and over again and say, 'Don't look at your own mind, but look straight up to Amida himself.' To rely on Amida means to turn towards the mirror of the original vow and see Amida face to face."

Passivity is Accepting Life as it is

Passivity is not self-reflection or self-examination. It is an unqualified acceptance of Amida. So long as there is a trace of conscious contrivance (*hakarai*), you are not wholly possessed of Amida. You and the original vow are two separate items of thought, there is no unity, and this unity is to be attained by accepting and not by striving. In this case passivity is identifiable with accepting existence as it is. To believe then is to be and not to become. Becoming implies a dissatisfaction with existence, a wishing to change, that is, to work out "my will" as against "thy will," and whatever we may say about moral ideals of perfection, religion is after all the acceptance of things as they are, things evil together with things good. Religion wants first of all "to be." To believe, therefore, is to exist—this is the fundamental of all religions. When this is translated into terms of psychology, the religious mind turns on the axle of passivity. "You are all right as you are," or "to be well with God and the world," or "don't think of the morrow": this is the final word of all religion.

It was in this spirit that Rinzai, (Lin-chi, died 867), the founder of the Rinzai branch of Zen Buddhism, said: "The truly religious man has nothing to do but go on with his life as he finds it in the various circumstances of this worldly existence. He rises quietly in the morning, puts on his dress and goes out to his work. When he wants to walk, he walks; when he wants to sit, he sits. He has no hankering after Buddhahood, not the remotest thought of it. How is this possible? A wise man of old says, If you strive after Buddhahood by any conscious contrivances, your Buddha is indeed the source of eternal transmigration."¹ To doubt is to commit suicide; to strive, which means "to negate," is, according to Buddhist phraseology, eternally to transmigrate in the ocean of birth and death.

A man called Joyemon, of Mino province, was much troubled about his soul. He had studied Buddhism but so far to no purpose. Finally, he went up to Kyoto where Ichirenin, who was a great teacher of Shin Buddhism at the time, resided, and opened his heart to him, begging to be instructed in the teaching of Shinran Shonin. Said Ichirenin, "You are as old as you are." (Amida's salvation consists in accepting yourself as you are.) Joyemon was not satisfied and made further remonstrance, to which Ichiren repeated, "You are saved as you are." The seeker after truth was not yet in a state of mind to accept the word of the teacher right off, he was not yet free from dependence on contrivances and strivings. He still pursued the teacher with some more postulations. The teacher, however, was not to be induced to deviate from his first course, for he repeated, "You are saved as you are," and quietly withdrew. It was fortunate that he was a "tariki" teacher; for if he had been a Zen master, I feel sure that Joyemon would have been handled in an altogether different manner.

John Woolman (1720-1772), a Quaker, died of small

¹ Done after the sense, for a literal translation of Rinzai requires a great deal of comments.

pox and towards the end his throat was much affected and he could not speak. He asked for pen and ink and wrote with difficulty: "I believe my being here is in the wisdom of Christ; I know not as to life or death." This confession exactly tallies with that of Shinran when he says in *The Tannisho*, "I say my Nembutsu as taught by my good teacher. As to my being reborn after death in the Land of Purity or in hell, I have no idea of it." Shinran quite frequently makes reference to the inconceivability of Buddha-wisdom. Our being here is entirely due to it, and it is not in our limited knowledge to probe into its mystery nor is it necessary to exercise our finite will about it; we just accept existence as it is, our trust is wholly placed in the infinite wisdom of Amida, and what we have to do is to get rested with this trust, this faith, this acceptance, and with this ignorance. And the wonderful thing is that this ignorance has such a wisdom in it as to give us entire satisfaction with this life and after.

The mystic knowledge or mystic ignorance and the satisfaction derived from it are also illustrated by the poem of thirty-one syllables composed by Ippen Shōnin (1229-1289). When he was studying Zen under Hōtō (1203-1298), the latter wanted to know how Ippen understood the meaning of the statement that "As a thought is stirred there is an awakening." Ippen's answer was in verse:

"When the Name is invoked,
Neither the Buddha nor the Self
There is:
Na-mu-a-mi-da-bu-tsu—
The voice alone is heard."

The Zen master, however, did not think Ippen rightly understood the point, whereby the latter uttered another verse:

"When the Name is invoked,
Neither the Buddha nor the Self
There is:
Na-mu-a-mi-da-bu-tsu,
Na-mu-a-mi-da-bu-tsu!"

This met the master's approval. In Ippen's religion we find Zen and Shin harmonised in a most practical way. When this *sonomama* (*yathābhūtam*) idea is translated into human relations, we have the following in which self-will is denounced as hindering the work of the All-One, that is, Amida.

"When the rebellious will of your self-power is given up, you realise what is meant by putting trust in Amida. You desire to be saved and the Buddha is ever ready to save, and yet the fact of your rebirth in the Land of Purity does not seem to be so easily establishable. Why? Because your rebellious will still asserts itself. It is like contracting a marriage between a young man and a young woman. The parents on both sides want to see them united in marriage. The one party says, 'There is no need of the bride's being provided with any sort of trousseau.' But the other thinks it necessary seeing that the bridegroom belongs to a far richer family, and it would not do for the bride not to be supplied even with one wardrobe. Both are ready and yet the sense of pride is their barrier. If the bride's family took the proposal made by the other party in the same spirit as is made by the latter, the desired end would be accomplished without further fussing. Quite similar to this is the relationship between the Buddha and sentient beings. The Buddha says: 'Come'; why not then go to him even as you are? But here the rebellious will shakes its head and says, 'With all his good will, I cannot go to him just as I am; I ought to do something to deserve the call.' This is self-pride. This is more than what the Buddha requires of you, and anything extraneous coming out of your self-conceit and limited philosophy obstructs the passage of the Buddha's mercy into your hearts. For all that is asked of you is to put your hand forward, into which the Buddha is ready to drop the coin of salvation. The Buddha is beckoning to you, the boat is waiting to take you to the other shore of the stream, no fares are wanted, the only movement you are to make is to step right into the ferry. You cannot protest and say, 'This

is a difficult task.' Why don't you then give yourself up entirely to the Buddha's vow of salvation and let his will prevail over yours?"¹

Molinos writes to Petrucci: "One of the fundamental rules which serve to keep my soul in constant inner peace is this: I may cherish no desire² for this or that separate good, but only for that good which is the highest of all and I must be prepared for all which this highest good gives me and requires of me. These are few words but they contain much."³ If one asks a Shin teacher what are few words containing so much as productive of the highest good, he will at once say, "Na-mu-a-mi-da-bu-tsu, Na-mu-a-mi-da-bu-tsu!" For this is indeed the magic sesame that carries you right to the other side of birth and death.

Ignorance and Passivity

The significant fact about religious experience, which is to be noticed in this connection, is that it always insists on abandoning all knowledge and learnedness acquired by the seeker of God or truth. Whether it is Christian or Buddhist, whether it is the Pure Land or the Holy Path, the insistence is equally emphatic. It is evident that religious experience stands almost diametrically opposed to intellectual knowledge, for learnedness and scholarship does not guarantee one to be a member of the kingdom of God, but "being like a child" not only in humbleness of heart but in simplicity of thought. The stains of vanity, conceit, and self-love which are so-called human righteousnesses, are indeed "as

¹ Condensed from VIII-XIII, of *Sayings of Shūson*, one of the modern teachers of Shin Buddhism, 1788-1860. Compiled by Gessho Sasaki, 1907.

² That the Catholic monks avow absolute obedience to their superior is also an expression of passivism in our religious life. When a man can submit himself to a life of obedience, he feels a certain sense of relief from the oppressing burden of self-responsibility, which is, akin to the religious feeling of peace and rest.

³ Kathleen Lyttleton's Introduction to Molinos' *Spiritual Guide*, p. 25.

a polluted garment," which is to be cast off by every one of us, but why is the use of the intellect too to be avoided? The soul may long for solitude and silence, but why does the constant reading of religious books grow wearisome? Why was Jesus thankful for his Father's hiding "these things" from the wise and prudent and revealing them unto babes, who are incapable of "careful meditations and subtle reasoning"?

St. Bonaventura "teaches us not to form a conception of anything, no, not even of God, because it is imperfection to be satisfied with representations, images, and definitions, however subtle and ingenious they may be, either of the will or of the goodness, trinity and unity; nay, of the divine essence itself."¹ St. Augustine soliloquises: "I, Lord, went wandering like a strayed sheep, seeking thee with anxious reasoning without, whilst thou wast within me. I wearied my self much in looking for thee without, and yet thou hast thy habitation within me, if only I desire thee and pant after thee. I went round the streets and squares of the city of this world seeking thee; and I found thee not, because in vain I sought without for him, who was within my self."¹

The reason why intellection is in disfavour with religious teachers is this: it does not give us the thing itself, but its representations, images, explanations, and references; it always leads us away from ourselves, which means that we become lost in the jungle of endless speculation and imagination, giving us no inner peace and spiritual rest. The intellect always looks outwardly, forgetting that "there is an inward sight which hath power to perceive the One True God." So Gerson expresses himself:² "Though I have spent forty years in reading and prayer, yet I could never find any thing more efficacious, nor for attaining to mystical theology, more direct than that the spirit should become like a little child and a beggar in the presence of God."

¹ Quoted from *The Spiritual Guide*, pp. 76, 77.

² Molinos, p. 72.

Buddhism, however, is fundamentally a religion against ignorance (*avidyā*) and not for it as in the foregoing quotations. The ignorant (*bāla*) and confused (*bhrānti*) and simple-minded (*prīthagjana*) are very much condemned in all Buddhist sutras as not being able to grasp the deepest truths of enlightenment. It is true that Buddhism is more intellectual than Christianity and that the whole drift of Buddhist thought tends to encourage an intuitive grasp of the emptiness of existence instead of being embraced in the love of the highest being. But in spite of this fact there is a strong undercurrent in the Buddhist teaching to uphold the futility of all intellectual attempts in the experience of the Buddhist life which consists really in abandoning every self-centered striving and preconceived metaphysical standpoint. This is to keep the consciousness in utter purity or in a state of absolute neutrality or blankness, in other words, to make the mind as simple as that of the child, which is not at all stuffed with learning and pride.

Hōnen Shōnin's (1133-1212) "One-Sheet Document" illustrates the Pure Land attitude towards ignorance and simple-heartedness:

"By Nembutsu I do not mean such practice of meditation on the Buddha as is referred to by the wise men of China and Japan, nor is it the invocation of the Buddha's name, which is practised as the result of study and understanding as to the meaning of Nembutsu. It is just to invoke the name of Amida, without doubting that this will issue in the rebirth of the believer in the Pure Land. Just this, and no other considerations are needed. Mention is often made of the threefold heart and the four manners of exercise, but these are all included in the belief that a rebirth in the Pure Land is most conclusively assured by the *Namu-amida-butsu*. If one imagines something more than this, one will be excluded from the blessings of the two holy ones, Amida and Śākyamuni, and left out of the original vow. Those who believe in the Nembutsu, however learned they may be in all the teachings of Śākyamuni, shall behave themselves like an ignoramus who knows nothing, or like a simple-hearted

woman-devotee; avoid pedantry, and invoke the Buddha's name with singleness of heart."

Shinran Shōnin (1173-1262) as disciple of Hōnen voices the same sentiment in his *Tannishō*:

"[Some say that] the salvation of those who do not read and study the sutras and commentaries is doubtful. Such a view as this is to be regarded as very far from the truth. All the sacred books devoted to the explanation of the truth of the Other-power, show that every one who believing in the original vow recites the Nembutsu will become a Buddha. Excepting this, what learning is needed to be reborn in the Pure Land? Let those who have any doubt on this point, learn hard and study in order to understand the meaning of the original vow. It is a great pity that there are some who in spite of a hard study of the sacred books are unable to understand the true meaning of the sacred doctrine. Since the Name is so formed as to be recited by any simple-hearted person who may have no understanding of even a single phrase in the sacred books, the practice is called easy."

That Zen representing the Holy Path wing of Buddhism too shies learning and sutra-reading can be seen from the way the historians of Zen treat Hui-nêng, the sixth patriarch of Zen; for he is made an ignorant pedlar of kindling as compared with his rival Shên-hsiu whose scholarship was the object of envy among the five hundred disciples of Hung-jên; and also from one of the chief mottoes adopted by Zen followers, "Depend not on letters!" for it was indeed on this that the T'ien-tai advocates of the Sung concentrated their assaults on Zen. Those who have at all studied Zen know well what attitude is assumed by Zen towards scholarship and intellection. Its literature is filled with such passages as these: "I have not a word to give to you as the teaching of Zen": "I have not uttered even a syllable these forty-nine years of my preaching"; "That is your learning, let me have what you have discovered within yourself"; "What are you going to do with your sutra-reading, which does not at all belong to your inner self?" "With all your erudition, do you think

you can cope with Death?" "All the sutras and commentaries so reverently studied by you, are they not after all mere rubbish to wipe dirt?" and so on.

Of the reasons why ignorance or simple-mindedness is so exalted in religious experience, the most weighty one is perhaps to be found in the nature of the intellect itself. Being essentially dualistic, it requires a point of reference from which it starts to make a statement, or to advance an argument, or to give a judgment. This mental habit of having a proposition definitely ascertained and holding fast to it goes against the religious frame of mind which principally consists in accepting existence as it is without asking questions, without entertaining doubts. Religious experience depicts in plain, unqualified, and straightforward statements, refusing to do anything with quibblings and dialectics. Whether of the Zen or of the Shin kind of Buddhism, mystic intuition thrives best in a mind which has no predilection, especially nursed by learning. When the mirror of consciousness is thoroughly kept clean of intellectual muddle, it reflects the glory and love of God as the Christians would say. Hence ignorance and naivety go hand in hand with passivity.

Selflessness and Emptiness

When this doctrine of passivity is rendered into philosophical phraseology, it is the doctrine of *Anātma* or non-ego, which, when further developed, turns into that of *śūnyatā* or emptiness. As I explained elsewhere, the doctrine of no-self-substance is not so nihilistic as non-Buddhist scholars may imagine, for this denial of the ego is also constantly on the lips of the Christian mystics. When St. Bernard, quoting Isaiah, X, 15, "Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith? or shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? as if the rod should shake itself against them that lift it up, or if the staff should lift up itself, as if it were no wood," concludes, "In fact, the ability

to glory in God comes from God alone"; cannot we draw another conclusion, saying, "God is all in all, there is no ego-substance"? or, "In him we live and move and have our being, and therefore all relative existences are as such empty (*śūnya*) and unborn (*anutpanna*)"? Logically speaking, Buddhist scholars are more frank and radical and self-consistent in developing this theme.

Says the author of *Theologia Germanica*, "We must understand it as though God said: 'He who willeth without me, or willeth not what I will, or otherwise than as I will, he willeth contrary to me, for my will is that no one should will otherwise than I, and that there should be no will without me, and without my will; even as without me there is neither substance, nor life, nor this, nor that, so also there should be no will apart from me, and without my will.' " When this is translated into the language of Buddhist psychology, it is "I am nowhere a somewhatness for any one, and nowhere for me is there a somewhatness of any one."¹ Or, according to the *Visuddhimagga* (chap. XVI) :

"Misery only doth exist, none miserable,
No doer is there; naught save the deed is found.
Nirvana is, but not the man who seeks it.
The Path exists, but not the traveller on it."

We must remember that the Buddha's teaching of Anātman or Anatta is not the outcome of psychological analysis but is a statement of religious intuition in which no discursive reasoning whatever is employed. The Buddhist experience found out by immediate knowledge that when one's heart was cleansed of the defilements of the ordinary ego-centred impulses and desires, nothing was left there to claim itself as the ego-residium. It was Buddhist philosophy that formed the theory, but that which supplied it with facts to substantiate it was Buddhist experience. We ought always to remember this truth, that religion first starts

¹ Translated by H. C. Warren.

with experience and later philosophises, and, therefore, the criticism of the philosophy must be based on facts and not on the philosophy as such.

The doctrine of Śūnyatā too is a statement of religious intuition, and not an abstract formulation of empty ideas. If this were not so, it could never be the fundamental concept of all the schools of Mahayana Buddhism and have such an inspiring influence upon the religious consciousness of its followers. The subject was treated somewhat fully in my *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, and I would not repeat it here except that Śūnyatā which is generally translated emptiness or vacuity which is its literal meaning, is not to be interpreted in terms of relative knowledge and logical analysis, but it is the utterance of direct insight into the nature of existence. Whatever philosophy it has gathered about it is later addition and the work of Buddhist scholarship.

IV

Passivity and Patience or Humiliation

While the life of passivity on the one hand tends to libertinism, it shows on the other hand much aloofness from human concerns. There are however some practical moral virtues arising from the experience of passivity, or, stated conversely, where there are these virtues they issue from the experience. They are highly characteristic of the religious life irrespective of its theology, be it Buddhist or Christian. In Buddhism the virtues thus realised are generally estimated at six, called *Pāramitā*: *Dāna*, *Śīla*, *Kṣānti*, *Vīrya*, *Dhyāna*, and *Prajñā*. The latter two, meditation (*dhyāna*) and intuitive knowledge (*prajñā*), may not be in any direct relationship to passivity, and here we will not touch upon them. The first four are important and we may say that the Mahayanist life is summed up in them. Still, of these four, the first, the practice of charity, which in Buddhism also involves the giving up of one's life to the cause, and the second, the

observance of the moral precepts, may not engage our attention here. For I wish to give especial consideration to one or two classical instances of *Kshānti* and *Vīrya*, both of which I take to be closely connected with the life of passivity and the philosophy of *Śūnyatā*. We may think that *Kshānti* (patience) may have something to do with passivity; but how about *Vīrya* (energy) which is apparently an opposite quality of meek suffering? How could energy be thought of issuing from religious passivity and emptiness? This is a significant point in the life of the Mahayana Buddhist and in the teaching of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. For according to the latter which is lived by the Bodhisattva, an inexhaustible mine of energy obtains just because of the emptiness of things; if there were something determinable at the back of our existence, we could not put forward such an energy exhibited by the Bodhisattva *Sadāprarudita*. And, owing to this energy, patience or humiliation is again made possible. To be patient or to practise *Kshānti* does not mean merely to submit oneself to sufferings of all sorts which are brought upon him from external sources, but it means to exert the virtue of energy (*vīrya*) in the life of emptiness, which is no less than what is known in all the Mahayana sutras as the life of a Bodhisattva (*bodhisattvacaryā*). So we read in the *Diamond Sutra*: "O Subhūti, at the time when Kalirāja cut my flesh from every limb, I had no idea of a self, of a person, of a being, or of a living being; I had neither an idea nor no-idea. And why? Because, O Subhūti, if I at that time had an idea of a self, of a person, of a being, or of a living being, I should also have had an idea of malevolence. And why? Because, O Subhūti, I remember the past five hundred births when I was a Rishi Kshāntivādin. At that time also I had no idea of a self, of a person, of a being, or of a living being."¹

We can thus see that without a philosophical comprehension of Emptiness there will be no real patience or passivity

¹ S.B.E., XLIX, pp. 127-8.

in the life of the Mahayana Buddhist, which never grows weary of seeking for the highest good as supported by energy. *Śūnyatā*, *Kṣānti*, and *Vīrya* are inseparable. The story of the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita is in this respect quite illuminating. The story runs as follows.¹

The Story of Sadāprarudita

The Buddha said to Subhūti: If thou shouldst really desire Prajñāpāramitā, thou shouldst behave like the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita who is at present living the life of a Bodhisattva under the Tathāgata Bhīṣma-garjita-nirghoṣa-svara. When he was intently bent upon realising Prajñāpāramitā, there was a voice from the sky, saying, "If thou goest eastward thou wilt have the chance of listening to Prajñāpāramitā. While proceeding there abandon all thoughts about growing tired, about sleep, eating and drinking, day and night, cold and heat; do not trouble thyself at all about such affairs, have no thought whatever about them; be done away with flattery; cherish no self-conceit, no arrogance; free thyself from the idea of a being, from the desire of making a name, of amassing wealth; free thyself from the five hindrances, from envy; assert no dualistic notions as to subject and object, inner and outer, etc.; while walking along, do not turn either side, left or right; do not think of the points of the compass, front or behind, above or below; do not be disturbed in thy form (*rūpa*), sensation (*vedanā*), thought (*saṃjñā*), conformation (*sanskāra*), and consciousness (*viññāna*). Why? Because he who is disturbed in these, walks into birth-and-death and not into the Buddhist life, and will never attain Prajñāpāramitā."

When Sadāprarudita heard this voice from the sky, he said: "I will behave indeed in the way I am instructed. For my wish is to become a light for all sentient beings by storing up all the truths of Buddhism." The mysterious voice gives the Bodhisattva further advice regarding the

¹ *The Aśṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-Sūtra*, Chapter on the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita.

Mahayanistic view of the world, absolute confidence to be placed in the teacher of *Prajñāpāramitā*, the temptations of the Evil One which would appear in various forms to a serious seeker of truth, etc.

Sadāprarudita now following the advice starts on his eastern pilgrimage, but before he is very far off, he thinks again: "Why did I not ask the voice how far east I have to go and of whom to hear about *Prajñāpāramitā*?" When he was seized with this thought, he felt so grieved over his stupidity that he did not know what to do but giving himself up to intense grief and self-reproach. But he was determined to stay on the spot, no matter how long, if he could only have another advice from the sky. He felt like a person who lost his only child, there was no other thought in his mind than wishing to know about his further procedure, when lo! a form looking like the Tathagata appeared before him and said:

"Well done, Sadāprarudita! All the Buddhas in the past have behaved like thee when they were intently bent upon realising *Prajñāpāramitā*. Go eastward for a distance of 500 yojanas, where thou wilt come to a city known as Gandhavati which is constructed of seven precious stones and most magnificently decorated in every way. In this city there is a high wide terrace on which stands a splendidly-built palace belonging to a Bodhisattva called Dharmodgata. A large assemblage of gods and men is gathered here, who are desirous of listening to the discourses given by this Bodhisattva on *Prajñāpāramitā*. Sadāprarudita, he is thy teacher and it is through him that thou comest to the understanding of *Prajñāpāramitā*. Go, therefore, on thy eastward journey until thou reachest the city. Conduct thyself as if thou wert pierced with a poisonous arrow, have no other thoughts than having it withdrawn from thy flesh at the earliest possible opportunity; have no rest until thou comest into the presence of thy teacher, the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata."

When Sadāprarudita was listening to this voice, he entered upon a state of ecstasy whereby he could see more or less clearly into the spiritual conditions of all the Buddhas. When he came out of the Samādhi, all the Buddhas who were before him suddenly disappeared. He was now troubled with the new question: "Whence are these Buddhas? Whither did they go?" He was grieved but at the same time more determined than ever to reach the palace of Dharmodgata.

He had, however, to think of the offerings¹ he had to make to his teacher. He was poor, and did not know how to get the necessary offerings. But he was not to be daunted, he decided to sell himself, thinking, "I have gone through many a rebirth, but ever being haunted by selfish impulses I have never performed deeds of goodness and purity, which save me from the tortures of purgatories." When he came to a large town, he went up to the market calling out loudly for some one who will buy his person. The Evil One heard the cry and lost no time in keeping the inhabitants of the town away from him, for Mara was afraid of Sadāprarudita's attaining his object and later leading people to the realisation

¹ Offerings are made by Buddhists to their object of devotion for their own spiritual development, which results from giving up all that is regarded as belonging to themselves. Offerings are therefore not meant to please the recipient, for what would the Buddhas do with all those material treasures, musical instruments, or celestial maidens? The practice of self-sacrifice is for the benefit of the donor himself. When this is done in the real spirit of selflessness, the Buddha accepts the offerings. A story is told of a noted Zen master who resided at Engakuji, Kamakura, early in the Tokugawa era, which illustrates the nature of Buddhist donation. When his temple required renovation, a wealthy merchant who was one of his admirers offered him a large sum of money for the work. The master received it nonchalantly, put it aside, and uttered not a word of thanks. The merchant was dissatisfied, and explained how deeply the donation cut into his capital and that it was quite a sacrifice on his part, which perhaps deserved just one word of acknowledgment from the master. The master quietly said, "Why shall I have to thank you for the merit you are accumulating for yourself?" Offerings are thus self-sacrifice, part of the giving-up of selfhood.

of Prajñāpāramitā. There was, however, one maiden of a wealthy householder, whom Mara could not overshadow.

When there was no response, Sadāprarudita was exceedingly mortified: "How heavy my sin is! Even when I am ready to sacrifice myself for the sake of supreme enlightenment, nobody is forthcoming to help me out!" Śakradevendra, god of the gods, however, hearing him conceived the idea of testing the sincerity of this truth-seeker. The god assumed the form of a Brahman and appeared before Sadāprarudita. Finding out what was the reason of his excessive lamentation, the Brahman said, "I do not want your person, but as I am going to conduct a certain religious ritual, I wish to have a human heart, human blood, and human marrow. Would you give them to me?" Sadāprarudita was overjoyed because of the opportunity of gaining some offerings for his teacher and thus enabling him to listen to his discourses on Prajñāpāramitā. He agreed at once to give up everything demanded by the Brahman for any price, he did not care how much it was.

The Brahman took out a sharp knife, and incising it into Sadāprarudita's right arm, he got enough blood needed for his purpose. When he was about to rip up the poor victim's right thigh in order to get the marrow, the maiden of a wealthy householder saw it from her apartment. She at once came down and interfered, "O sir, what is all this for?" Sadāprarudita explained. The maiden was struck with his unselfish motives and promised him that she would see to whatever offerings he needed for his visit to Dharmodgata.

The Brahman then resuming his proper form said to Sadāprarudita, "Well done, indeed, son of a good family! I am now convinced of your devotion to the Dharma. Such was also the devotion of all the Buddhas of the past when they were still seeking after Prajñāpāramitā. My only wish with you was to see how earnest you were in this. What can I do for you now to recompense?"

Said Sadāprarudita, "Give me supreme enlightenment."

The god confessed his inability of giving him this kind of gift, whereupon Sadāpradudita wished to have his mutilated body restored. This was accomplished at once and Śakra devendra disappeared. The maiden of a wealthy householder then took him into her house, where he was introduced to her parents. They were also greatly moved and even permitted their daughter to go along with him. Rich offerings of all sorts were prepared, and accompanied by five hundred attendant-maidens, they proceeded further eastward to the city of Gandhavati.

The city is finally reached, and they see the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata discoursing on the Dharma. As the party of truth-seekers approach him, they are again accosted by Śakra devendra who performs some miraculous deeds over a treasure-casket. The casket is explained to contain Prajñā-pāramitā, but nobody is allowed to open it as it is sealed seven times by Dharmodgata himself. Some offerings are made to it.

At the palace of Dharmodgata, Sadāprarudita, the maiden of a wealthy householder, and five hundred maiden-attendants all pay him due respects, flowers, increase of various kinds, necklaces, banners, canopies, robes, gold, silver, precious stones, and other things are offered, accompanied by music. Sadāprarudita informs him of his mission and experiences which he had on his way to Gandhavati; and then he expresses his desire to know whence all those Buddhas came to appear before him and whither they disappeared later, as he wishes to be all the time in their presence. To this answers Dharmodgata:

"From nowhere the Buddhas come and to nowhere they go. Why? Because all things are of suchness and immovable, and this suchness is no less than the Tathagata himself. In the Tathagata there is no going, no coming, no birth, no death; for ultimate reality knows neither coming nor going, and this reality is the Tathagata himself. Emptiness knows

neither coming nor going, and this emptiness is the Tathagata himself. The same can be said of suchness (*yathāvattā*), of detachment (*viragata*), of cessation (*nirodha*), and of space; and all these qualities also belong to the Tathagata. O son of a good family, apart from all these dharmas, there is no Tathagata. As they are of suchness, so is the Tathagata; they are all of one suchness which is neither two nor three; it is above numbers and nowhere attainable:

“Towards the end of the spring when it is warm, there appears a mirage on the fields, which is taken for a sheet of water by the ignorant. Son of a good family, where thinkest thou this vapoury appearance comes? From the eastern sea? or from the western sea? or from the northern sea? or from the southern sea?”

Replied Sadāprarudita, “In the mirage there is no real water, and how can one talk of its whence and whither? The ignorant take it for water where there is really none whatever.”

“And so,” continued Dharmodgata, “it is with the Tathagata. If a man gets attached to his body, form, and voice, and begins to think about his whence and whither, he is an ignoramus who, altogether destitute of intelligence, imagines the presence of real water in a mirage. Why? Because no Buddhas are to be regarded as having the material body, they are the Dharma-body, and the Dharma in its essence knows no whence, no whither.

“Son of a good family, it is again like those magic-created figures—elephants, horses, carriages, foot-soldiers; they come from nowhere, go nowhere. It is again like those Tathagatas who appear to a man in a dream, one, two, ten, twenty, fifty, one hundred, or even over one hundred in number; when he awakes from the dream, he sees not even one of them. All things are like a dream, they have no substantiality. But as the ignorant realise it not, they are attached to forms, names, physical bodies (*rūpakāya*), words, and phrases, they imagine various Buddhas to be coming into

existence and going out of it. They comprehend not the true nature of things nor that of the Buddhas. Such will transmigrate through the six paths of existence, separated from Prajñāpāramitā, separated from all the teachings of Buddhism. It is only those who understand the nature of ultimate reality (*dharmatā*) that will cherish no discrimination as regards the whence and whither of the Tathagata. They live Prajñāpāramitā, they attain supreme enlightenment, they are true followers of the Buddha, they are worthy of being revered by others, they are indeed the fountain of blessings to the world.

“Son of a good family, it is like those treasures in the sea which have not come from the east, from the west, from the south, or from the north, or again from above or below. They grow in the sea owing to the good meritorious deeds of sentient beings. They are there not independent of the chain of causation, but when they disappear they do not go east or west or anywhere. When conditions are so combined, they come into existence; when they are dissolved, things disappear. Son of a good family, it is even so with the Tathagata-body which is not a fixed existence. It does not come from any definite direction, nor does it exist outside the chain of causation, for it is the product of previous Karma (*pūrvakarmavipāka*).

“Son of a good family, it is like the musical sound of a lute which issues from the combination of its frame, skin, strings, and stick as it is played by the human hand. The sound comes not from any one of these parts when they are disconnected. Their concordant action is needed to produce the sound. In a similar manner, the Tathagata is the outcome of numberless meritorious deeds of the past, apart from which his whence and whither cannot be conceived. From any one single cause nothing takes place, there must be several of them which when combined produce a result. When they discontinue to act conjointly, the Tathagata goes out of existence. This being the case, the wise do not talk

of his appearance and disappearance. Indeed, with all things, not only with the Tathagata, there is no birth, no death, no coming, no going. This is the way to reach supreme enlightenment and also to realise Prajñāpāramitā."

When this discourse was finished, the whole universe trembled violently, including the abodes of the gods and those of the evil ones. All the plants at once burst out in full bloom, and Śakra devendra with his four guardian-kings showered a rain of flowers over the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata. These miraculous phenomena were explained to have taken place owing to the fact that the discourse given by the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata on the whence and whither of the Tathagata opened the spiritual eyes of ever so many beings leading to supreme enlightenment. This pleased the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita immensely, for he was now more than ever confirmed in his belief in Prajñāpāramitā and his destiny of attaining Buddhahood. More offerings were given to Dharmodgata who, first accepting them in order to complete the meritorious deeds of the Sadāprarudita, returned them to him. He then retired into his own palace not to come out of it again before seven years elapsed; for it was his habit to enter upon a profound Samādhi for that space of time.

Sadāprarudita was, however, determined to wait for seven years by the palace of Dharmodgata in order to listen to his discourses again on Prajñāpāramitā and its skilful means (*upāyakaṁśālyā*). He was so devoted to his teacher that all the while he never laid himself in bed, never tasted any delicious food, never gave himself to his own sensuous pleasures, he anxiously waited for the rise of Dharmodgata from his deep meditation.

Dharmodgata finally awoke from his meditation. Sadāprarudita prepared the ground for his teacher's discourse by shedding his own blood, for he was again frustrated by the Evil One in his attempt to obtain water. But Śakra devendra came to his assistance once more, and all the due decora-

tions and offerings were supplied. Dharmodgata then gave a further discourse on the identity of all things, and, therefore, of Prajñāpāramitā, in which there is neither birth nor death, being free from all sorts of logical predicates. While listening to this profound discourse on the transcendental nature of Prajñāpāramitā, Sadāprarudita realised 6,000,000 Samādhis and came into the presence of the Buddhas numbering even more than the sands of the River Gāṅgā, who, surrounded by a large assemblage of great Bhikshus, were discoursing on Prajñāpāramitā. After this, the wisdom and learning of the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita was beyond the conceivability of an ordinary mortal, it was like a boundless expanse of ocean, and wherever he went he was never separated from the Buddhas.

V

Prayer and Nembutsu

The Christian method of awakening the religious feeling of passivity is prayer. "When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut the door, pray to the Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret will reward thee openly."¹ This is the example shown by the founder of Christianity how to bring about the state of religious consciousness in which "thy will" and not "my will" is to prevail. And the author of the *Imitation of Christ* simply follows this when he says, "If thou desirest true condition of heart, enter into thy secret chamber and shut out the tumults of the world, as it is written, 'Commune with your own heart and in your chamber, and be still.' In thy chamber thou shalt find what abroad thou shalt too often lose." (Book I, Chapter XX, 5.) To retire into solitude and devote oneself to praying if one is a Christian, or to meditating if one is a Buddhist, is one of the necessary conditions

¹ Matthew, iv, 6.

for all religious souls to gain access to the ultimate reality which it is always seeking to be in communion with.

The following story of three monks is taken from the Introduction to Rolfe's *Amending of Life*, by H. L. Hubbard, in which each of them "seeks to exercise his vocation in a different direction. One chose the part of peace-making between men, the second to visit the sick, and the third to dwell in quietness in the desert. The first two, finding it impossible to fulfil their self-chosen tasks, went and recounted their failures to the third. The latter suggested that each of them should fill a vessel with water and pour it into a basin. Then he bade them look into the basin immediately and tell him what they saw. They replied that they saw nothing. After the water had ceased to move he told them to look again. Then they told him that they could see their faces clearly reflected in the water. 'So is it with you and me,' said the hermit, 'you who live in the world can see nothing because of the activities of men. I who dwell alone in peace and quietness can see both God and men.' "

Evidently God shuns to cast his image in a body of disturbed water. To use Buddhist terminology, as long as *jiriki* (self-power) is trying to realise itself, there is no room in one's soul for the *tariki* of God to get into it, in whatever intellectual way this concept may be interpreted. A Catholic Father Tissot writes in his *Interior Life*, that "God wishes himself to be the life of my life, the soul of my soul, the all of my being, he wishes to glorify himself in me and to beautify me in himself."¹ To effect this state of spirituality, "my" mind must be like a mirror, freshly polished and with no stain of "self-dust" on it, in which God reflects himself and "I" see him then "face to face."

As regards the spiritual training of the mind so that it may finally experience passivity in the communion with God, Catholics seem to have a fuller literature than the Protestants. It is natural seeing that the latter emphasise faith

¹ Quoted from *The Life of Prayer*, by W. A. Brown, p. 157.

in the scheme of salvation more than any form of mental training. Catholics may tend towards formalism and ritualism, but their "spiritual exercises" are psychologically quite an effective means to induce the state they contrive to bring about, as long as they have no intellectual difficulties in taking in all they teach. The mystical experiences which they consider to be special gifts of God require, no doubt, some such preliminary steps for the devotee, which are variously designated by them as "preparation," "purgation," "consideration," "meditation," or "contemplation."

In Buddhism, the Shin, like Protestantism, emphasises faith and as the result its followers have no special psychological method with which they attempt to strengthen the subjective force of faith, except attending religious discourses given by the preacher and being interviewed by him on doubtful points. It is true, however, that it is in Shin more than in any other school of Buddhism that the *tariki* (other-power) or passivity side of experience is most persistently insisted on. As far as their teaching goes, Shin tells us not to put forward anything savouring of "self" but just to listen to the teacher and accept him, that is, his message as transmitted from Śākyamuni onward, who was the first historically to get us acquainted with the original vow of Amida. The Shin is really a consistent passivity-religion.

The Jōdo, however, from which the Shin branched off as a special sect of the Pure Land school of Buddhism, has a way to prepare the mind for the final experience for what is known in Buddhism as *anjin* (*an*=peace, *jin* or *shin*=mind), that is, a restful state of mind, or "interior quiet." This is saying the Nembutsu, that is, invoking the name of Amida; *Namu-amida-butsu* (in Sanskrit, *namo 'mitābhāya*), "Adoration to the Buddha of Infinite Light." The formula or phrase is to be repeated in its Chinese form (*na-mo-o-mi-to-fu*) or in the Japanese (*na-mu-a-mi-da-bu-tu*), and not in the original Sanskrit nor in any other translation. Some earnest

devotees are reported to have repeated the phrase ten hundred thousand times a day, for instance, Donran (476-542), Hōnen (1133-1212), etc. The conscious object of course is to be embraced in the grace of Amida by repeatedly pronouncing his name, but psychologically it is to prepare the mind in such a way as to suspend all the surface activities of consciousness and to wake from its unconscious sources a power greater than the empirical ego. Theologically or metaphysically, it may mean many things, but from the psychological point of view the Nembutsu is like a certain kind of prayer¹ an attempt to tap new life for the mind that has reached as it were the end of its rope. The Nembutsu is thus meant to exhaust the power of a finite mind which, when it comes to this pass or *impasse*, throws itself down at the feet of something it knows not exactly what, except that the something is an infinite reality.

The Practice of Zazen and Passivity

In Zen there is apparently no passivity traceable. As it claims, it is the strong "self-power" wing of Eastern Mahayana Buddhism, and besides it is intellectual in the

¹ Prayer is divided, according to the author of *Des Grâces d'Oraison* into two categories, ordinary and extraordinary or mystic. Ordinary prayer may be called natural against the mystic which is supernatural, for the Catholic theologians retain the word mystic for what they designate as supernatural states of prayer which are absolutely impossible to be realised by the human will alone. Psychologically, no doubt the "supernatural" is the continuation of the "natural," but from the theological point of view the Catholics would naturally desire to reserve a special room for the "supernatural." Ordinary prayer is regarded to have four degrees: 1. vocal prayer which is a recitation; 2. meditation where there is a chain of distinct reflections or arguments; 3. affective prayer in which affections are made predominant; and 4. the prayer of simplicity where intuition replaces reasoning and affections are not varied and are expressed in few words. The Nembutsu is, to use Catholic terminology, sometimes vocal prayer, sometimes prayer of simplicity, and sometimes even mystic prayer when the devotee is embraced in the original vow of Amida. The character of the Nembutsu varies according to the individuality of the devotee and also to his mental attitude at the time.

sense that it puts its whole stress on the intuitive apprehension of the truth. It is almost a kind of philosophy. But as far as psychology is concerned, things cannot be any different with Zen than with any other religions; the way it works in our empirical mind is the same as in other religious experiences. Whatever metaphysical interpretations and contents we may give to its experience, there is a certain feeling of passivity in it. To go beyond the realm of limited intellection is not to use the strength of the intellect itself; it comes from something more than that, and as long as there is something transcending the mind, and yet its working is manifested in and through the mind, the latter must play the rôle of passivism, there is no other choice for it. The consciousness of "self-power" (*jiriki*) may be too prominent in the Zen mind, but this cannot overrule the principle of the experience by which alone the mind is made to realise what is beyond itself. "Passively active" or "actively passive"—the choice of one term or the other depends upon the individual psychology more than upon the fact itself, for the fact always lends itself to alternative interpretations. To understand the position of Zen in this matter we must have the knowledge of its practice of *dhyāna*¹ or *zazen*, as it is called in China and Japan. Zen does not exactly coincide with Indian Dhyāna, though *zen* is an abbreviation of *zenna*, (*channa* in Chinese), which is in turn the transliteration of the Sanskrit *dhyāna*; in practice however the same bodily posture is assumed. The following directions² given by a Zen master may throw light on what Zen proposes to do.

¹ *Dhyāna* is generally translated as meditation, but it is really the practice of mental concentration, in which the reasoning process of the intellect is cut short and consciousness is kept clean of all other ideas except the one which is given as the subject of meditation.

² The author of these "Directions" is not known, but they are generally regarded as coming originally from the "Regulations of the Meditation Hall" compiled by Pai-chang (720-814), the founder of the Zen monastery in China. The original "Regulations" were lost with the

"The Bodhisattva who disciplines himself in Prajñā should first of all awaken a great compassionate heart, make great universal vows, and thoroughly be versed in all Samādhis, in order to deliver all beings; for the Bodhisattva does not seek emancipation for his own benefit. Let him renounce all external relations and put a stop to all worldly doings, so that his mind and body becoming one can be kept in perfect harmony whether moving or sitting quiet. His food should be regulated, neither too much nor too little; and his sleep also should be moderate, neither too long nor too short.

"When he wishes to practise meditation, let him retire into a quiet room where he prepares a thick well-wadded cushion for his seat, with his dress and belt loosely adjusted about his body. He then assumes his proper formal posture. He will sit with his legs fully crossed, that is, place the right foot over the left thigh and the left foot over the right thigh. Sometimes the half-cross-legged posture is permitted, in which case simply let the left leg rest over the right. Next, he will place the right hand over the left leg with its palm up and over this have the right-hand palm, while the thumbs support against each other over the palm. He now raises the whole body slowly and quietly, moves it repeatedly to the left and to the right, backward and forward, until the proper seat and straight posture are obtained. He will take care not to lean too much to one side, either left or right, forward or backward; his spinal column stands erect with the head, shoulders, back, and loins each properly supporting others like a chaitya. But he is cautious not to sit too upright or rigidly, for he will then feel uneasy before long.

downfall of the T'ang dynasty; they were compiled again by Tsung-I, 1103, in the Sung. The work now known as *Pai-chang Ching-kuei* (百丈清規) is a modern compilation in the year 1265 under the auspices of the Emperor Tai-tsu of Yüan. The present "Directions" are found in these works. The reference to Yüan-tsung of Fa-yüan in them shows that they contain some insertions of Tsung-I himself because Yüan-tsung was his own master.

The main thing is to have the ears and shoulders, nose and naval stand to each other in one vertical plane, while the tongue rests against the upper palate and the lips and teeth are firmly closed up. The eyes are slightly open in order to avoid falling asleep. When meditation advances the wisdom of this practice will grow apparent. Great masters of meditation from of old have their eyes kept open. Yüan-tung, the Zen master of Fa-yün, has also had a strong opinion against the habit of closing the eyes and called such practisers 'dwellers of the skeleton cave in the dark valley.' There is a deep sense in this, which is well understood by those who know. When the position is steadied and the breathing regular, the practiser will now assume a somewhat relaxed attitude, he will not be concerned with ideas good or bad. When a thought is awakened, there is awareness; when there is awareness, the thought vanishes. When the exercise is kept up steadily and for a sufficient length of time, disturbing ideas naturally cease and there prevails a state of oneness. This is the essence of practising meditation.

"Meditation is the road leading to peace and happiness. The reason why there are so many people who grow ill, is because they do not know how to prepare themselves duly for the exercise. If they well understand the directions as given above, they will without straining themselves too much acquire not only the lightness of the body but the briskness of spirit, which finally brings about the clarification of the consciousness. Further, the understanding of the Buddha's teaching will be a great help to the practiser whose mind thus nourished will now enjoy the pure bliss of tranquillity. If he has already a realisation within himself, his practice of meditation will be like a dragon getting into water, or a tiger crouching against a hill-side. In case he has yet nothing of self-realisation, the practice will be like fanning up the fire with the wind, not much effort is needed, [he will soon get enlightened]. Only let him not too easily be deceived as to what he may regard as self-realisation.

“When there is an enhanced spiritual quality, there is much susceptibility to the Evil One’s temptation which comes in every possible form both agreeable and disagreeable. Therefore, the practiser must have his consciousness rightly adjusted and well in balance; then nothing will prevent his advancement in meditation. Concerning various mental aberrations worked out by the Evil One, a detailed treatment is given in *The Lêng-yen Sūtra* (楞嚴經), the *T’ien-tai Chih Kwan* (天台止觀), and Kuei-fêng’s *Book on Practice and Realisation* (圭峯修証儀). Those who wish to prepare themselves against the untoward events, should be well informed of the matter.

“When the practiser wants to rise from meditation, let him slowly and gently shake his body and quietly rise from the seat; never let him attempt to rise suddenly. After the rising let him always contrive to retain whatever mental power he has gained by meditation, as if he were watching over a baby; for this will help him in maturing the power of concentration.

“[In the study of Buddhism], the practice of meditation comes foremost. When the mind not being sufficiently brought under control no tranquillity obtains in it, the practiser will entirely be at a loss with the arrival of the critical moment. When looking for a gem, the water must not be stirred up; the waves make it difficult to get hold of the gem. Let the waters of meditation be clear and undisturbed, and the spiritual gem will all by itself shine forth. Therefore, we read in the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (圓覺經), that ‘Prajñā pure and flawless is produced by means of meditation’; in the *Sūtra of the Lotus of the Good Law* (法華經) that ‘Retire into a solitary place and have your mind under full discipline, and let it be as steady and immovable as Mount Sumeru.’ We thus know that the sure way to realise saintliness which goes beyond worldly trivialities is attained by means of a quiet life. It is all through the power of concentration, indeed, that some of the old masters have

passed away into eternity even while sitting cross-legged or standing upright. There are many chances of interruption and failure even when one is devoting one's life [to the realisation of the truth]; how much more if illness gains the hold of you! How can you cope with the assault of Karma? So says an ancient teacher, 'If you have not acquired the power of concentration strong enough to destroy the camp of death, you will have to come back with your eyes blindfolded and with nothing achieved. Your life will thus be utterly wasted.'

"Good friends of Zen be pleased to read these words repeatedly, and whatever benefit that accrues [from the practice of meditation] will be not only yours but others' too, for you will thus all finally attain enlightenment."

The Function of Kōan in Zen

When it is said that Buddhism, Mahayana as well as Hinayana, is rich in the intellectual element, it does not mean that Buddhism lays its principal stress on logic or philosophy in the unfoldment of religious consciousness, but that it upholds an intuitive understanding of ultimate religious truth rather than a merely faithful acceptance of the teaching of its founder. And as the most efficient means to come to this intuitive understanding it teaches the practice of meditation known as *dhyāna* or *zazen*. The direction given above is thus followed by all Buddhists Indian, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese, except the adherents of the Pure Land school of Buddhism. For they believe that the understanding grows by itself from within when the practice of *zazen* is brought to perfection. As is stated, Prajñā reflects itself on the serene undisturbed water of *dhyāna*. When, however, in the history of Zen the system of Kōan came to be in vogue, meditation so called was pushed behind in order to bring the intuition more to the foreground. Daiye (大慧, Tai-hui, 1089-1163) boldly declares, "Others give priority to *dhyāna* rather than to intuition (*prajñā*),

but I give priority to intuition rather than to *dhyāna*." He was one of the strong advocates of Kōan in China in opposition to his great contemporary Wanshi (宏智 Hong-chih 1091-1157). As I have explained in my *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, First Series, and will do so more in detail in the Second Series, the Kōan students of Zen are almost violently aggressive in their attitude towards the realisation of the passivity phase of the religious experience.

No signs of passivity seem to be noticeable in their exercise, but what is aimed at here is intellectual passivity and not an emotional one which comes out in view so much in Christian mystics and also in the followers of the Pure Land school of Buddhism. The method of Kōan, on the other hand, is to blot out by sheer force of the will all the discursive traces of intellection whereby students of Zen prepare their consciousness to be the proper ground for intuitive knowledge to burst out. They march through a forest of ideas thickly crowding up into their minds, and when thoroughly exhausted in their struggles they give themselves up, the state of consciousness, psychologically viewed, which they have so earnestly but rather blindly sought after, unexpectedly prevails. This last giving-up is what I would term a state of passivity in our religious experience. Without this giving-up, whether intellectually or conatively or emotionally or in whatever way we may designate this psychological process, there is generally no experience of a final reality. Let me give here some quotations from a book known as *Zenkwān Sakushin* (禪關策進),¹ which may be freely translated "The Breaking Through the Frontier Gate of Zen," and which is very much read by Zen students as a most energising stimulant to their wearied nerves.

"Have the two characters 'birth and death' pasted on your forehead until you get an understanding into their meaning; if you spend your time among idlers talking and laughing, the lord of death will surely demand of you a

¹ Compiled by Ch'u-hung, 祿宏, 1531-1615.

strict account of your life when you have to appear before him. Don't say then, 'I have never been reminded of this!'

"When you apply yourself to the study of Zen, what is necessary is to examine yourself from moment to moment and to keep the subject (*kōan*) always before your mental eye so that you can see by yourself when you have gained strength and when not, and also where your concentration is needed more and where not.

"There are some who begin to doze as soon as they are on the cushion and allow all kinds of rambling thoughts to disturb them if they are at all wakeful; and when they are down from the cushion their tongues are at once set loose. If they try to master Zen in this fashion, they would never succeed even if they are alive unto the day of Maitreya. Therefore, you should, exerting all your energy, take up your subject (*kōan*) and endeavour to get settled with it, you should never relax yourself day and night. Then you are not merely sitting quietly or vacantly as if you were a corpse. If you find yourself in a maze of confusing thoughts and unable to extricate yourself in spite of your efforts, drop them lightly, and coming down from the seat, quickly run across the floor once, and then resume your position on the cushion. Have your eyes open, hold your hands clasped, and keeping your backbone straight up, apply yourself as before to the subject (i.e., *kōan*), when you will feel greatly refreshed. It will be like pouring one dipperful of cold water into a boiling cauldron. If you go on thus exercising yourself, you will surely reach the destination."

Another Zen master advises thus: "Some masters there are these days who in spite of their eyes not being clearly opened teach people to remain satisfied with mere empty-mindedness; then there are others who teach people to accept things blindly as they are and contemplate on them as such; there are still others who advise people not to pay any attention to anything at all. These are all one-sided views of Zen, their course of exercise is altogether on the wrong track, it

will never come to a definite termination. The main idea in the study of Zen is to concentrate your mind on one point; when this is done, everybody will get it; that is, when thus the proper time comes and conditions are fully matured, realisation will come by itself all of a sudden like a flash of lightning.

“Let your everyday worldly consciousness be directed towards Prajñā, and then you will avoid coming under the control of your past evil Karma at the moment of death even if you may not attain to realisation while in this life. In your next life, you will surely be in the midst of Prajñā itself and enjoy its full realisation; this is a certainty, you need not cherish any doubt about it.

“Only let your mind have a good hold of the subject without interruption. If any disturbing thoughts assail you, do not necessarily try to suppress them too vigorously; rather try to keep your attention on the subject itself. Whether walking or sitting, apply yourself surely and steadily on it, give no time to relaxation. When your application goes on thus constantly, a period of indifference [literally, tastelessness] will set in. This is good, do not let go, but keep on and the mental flower will abruptly come to full bloom; the light illuminating the ten quarters will manifest the land of the treasure-lord on the tip of a single hair; you will then be revolving the great wheel of the Dharma even when you are sitting in the midst of the world.”

VI

The Perfection of Passivism in Buddhist Life

When the religious experience just described is matured, i.e., when it accompanies moral perfection, Buddhists will finally acquire what is technically known as *anābhogacaryā*, and its wonderful achievements as most elaborately detailed in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* will take place in the life of a Bodhisattva, the ideal being of Mahayana Buddhism. The effortless life is the perfection of passivism.

According to the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, the effortless life is attained when a Bodhisattva passes from the seventh to the eighth stage of spiritual life by realising what is known as the "acceptance of all things as unborn" (*anutpattika-dharmakṣhānti*). To quote the Sūtra:

"The Bodhisattva Vajragarbha said, O son of the Buddha, when the Bodhisattva, while at the seventh stage, has thoroughly finished examining what is meant by cleansing the paths with transcendental wisdom and skilful means (*prajñopāya*), has accumulated all the preparatory material (*sambhāra*), has well equipped himself with the vows, and is sustained by the power of the Tathagatas, procuring in himself the power produced from the stock of merit, attentively thinking of and in conformity with the powers, convictions, and unique characteristics of the Tathagatas, thoroughly purified, sincere in heart, and thoughtful, elevated in virtue, knowledge, and power, great in pity and compassion which leaves no sentient beings unnoticed, and in pursuit of the path of wisdom that is beyond measurement; and, further, when he enters, truly as it is, upon the knowledge that all things are, in their nature, from the first, unborn (*anutpanna*), unproduced (*ajāta*), devoid of individualising marks (*alakṣaṇa*), have never been combined (*asambhūta*), are never dissolved (*avināśita*), nor extinguished (*anishṭhita*), nor changing (*apravṛtti*), nor ceasing (*anabhiniṣṛitti*), and are lacking in self-substance (*abhāva-svabhāva*); when he enters upon the knowledge that all things remain the same in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, are of suchness, non-discriminative, and entering into the knowledge of the all-knowing one; [and finally] when he thus enters upon the knowledge of all things as they really are; he is then completely emancipated from such individualising ideas as are created by the mind (*citta*) and its agent (*manovijñāna*); he is then as detached as the sky, and descends upon all objects as if upon an empty space; he

¹ Edited by Rahder, p. 63 et seq.

is then said to have attained to the acceptance of all things as unborn (*anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*).

“O son of the Buddha, as soon as a Bodhisattva attains this Acceptance, he enters upon the eighth stage called Immovable (*avalā*). This is the inner abode of Bodhisattvahood, which is difficult to comprehend, which goes beyond discrimination, separated from all forms, all ideas, and all attachments; which transcends calculation and limitation as it lies outside [the knowledge of] the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas and above all disturbances and ever in possession of tranquillity. As a Bhikṣu furnished with supernatural faculties and freedom of mind and gradually entering into the Samādhi of Cessation, has all his mental disturbances quieted and is free from discrimination; so the Bodhisattva now abides in the stage of immovability, that is, detached from all works of effort (*ābhoga*), he has attained effortlessness, has put an end to strivings mental, verbal, and physical, and is beyond discrimination as he has put away all forms of vexation, he is now established in the Dharma itself which he enjoys as the fruit of his past work.

“It is like a man who, in a dream finding himself in a great river, attempts to go to the other side; he musters all his energy and strives hard with every possible means. And because of this effort and contrivance, he wakes from the dream, and being thus awakened all his strivings are set at rest. In like manner, the Bodhisattva seeing all beings drowning themselves in the four streams, and in his attempt to save them, exerts himself vigorously, unflinchingly; and because of his vigorous and unflinching exertion, he attains the stage of immovability. Once in this stage, all his strivings are dropped, he is relieved of all activity that issues from the notion of duality or from an attachment to appearance.

“(O son of the Buddha, as when one is born in the Brahman world, no tormenting passions present themselves in his mind; so when the Bodhisattva comes to abide in the

stage of immovability, his mind is entirely relieved of all effortful activities which grow out of a contriving consciousness. In the mind of this Bodhisattva there is indeed no conscious discrimination of a Bodhisattva, or a Buddha, or enlightenment, or Nirvana; how much less the thought of things worldly. O son of the Buddha, on account of his original vows the Bodhisattva sees all the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones personally presenting themselves before him in order to confer upon him the wisdom of Tathagatahood whereby he is enabled to get into the stream of the Dharma. They would then declare: 'Well done, well done, O son of a good family, this is the Kshānti (acceptance) of the first order which is in accordance with the teaching of the Buddhas. But, O son of a good family, thou hast not yet acquired the ten powers, the fourfold fearlessness, and the eighteen special qualities possessed by all the Buddhas. Thou shouldst yet work for the acquirement of these qualities, and never let go thy hold of this Kshānti.

“ ‘O son of a good family, though thou art established in serenity and emancipation, there are ignorant beings who have not yet attained serenity, but are being harassed by evil passions and aggrieved by varieties of speculation. On such ones thou shouldst show thy compassion. O son of a good family, mindful of thy original vows, thou shouldst benefit all beings and have them all turn towards inconceivable wisdom.

“ ‘O son of a good family, the ultimate essence of all things is eternally such as it is, whether or not Tathagatas have come to appear; they are not called Tathagatas because of their realisation of this ultimate essence of things. All the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas too have indeed realised this essence of non-discrimination. Again, O son of a good family, thou shouldst look up to our body, knowledge, Buddha-land, halo of illumination, skilful means, and voice of purity, each of which is beyond measurement; and with these mayest thou too be completely equipped.

“ ‘Again, O son of a good family, thou hast now one light, it is the light that sees into the real nature of all things as unborn and beyond discrimination. But the light of truth the Tathagatas have is beyond all measurement, calculation, comparison, and proportion, as regards its infinite mobility, activity, and manifestation. Thou shouldst raise thy intention towards it in order to realise it.

“ ‘O son of a good family, observing how boundlessly the lands extend, how numberless beings are, and how infinitely divided things are, thou shouldst know them all truthfully as they are.’

“In this manner, O son of the Buddha, all Buddhas bestow upon the Bodhisattva who has come up to this stage of immovability infinitude of knowledge and make him turn towards knowledge of differentiation and work issuing therefrom, both of which are beyond measurement. O son of the Buddha, if the Buddhas did not awake in this Bodhisattva a desire for the knowledge of the all-knowing one, he would have passed into Parinirvana abandoning all the work that will benefit beings. As he was however given by the Buddhas infinitude of knowledge and work issuing therefrom, his knowledge and work that is carried on even for a space of one moment surpasses all the achievements that have been accomplished since his first awakening of the thought of enlightenment till his attainment of the seventh stage; the latter is not comparable even to one-hundredth part of the former, no indeed even to one immeasurably infinitesimal part of it; no comparison whatever is possible between the two. For what reason? Because, O son of the Buddha, the Bodhisattva who has now gained this eighth stage after starting first with his one body in his course of spiritual discipline, is now provided with infinite bodies, infinite voices, infinite knowledge, infinite births, and infinite pure lands, and has also brought infinite beings into maturity, made offerings to infinite Buddhas, comprehended infinite teachings of the Buddhas, is furnished with infinite supernatural

powers, attend infinite assemblages and sessions, and, by means of infinite bodies, speeches, thoughts, and deeds, acquires perfect understanding of everything concerning the life of the Bodhisattva, because of his attainment of immovability.

“O son of the Buddha, it is like a man going into the great ocean in a boat; before he gets into the high sea he labours hard, but as soon as it is pulled out to sea, he can leave it to the wind, and no further efforts are required of him. When he is thus at sea, what he can accomplish in one day would easily surpass what is done even after one hundred years’ exertion in the shallows. In like manner, O son of the Buddha, when the Bodhisattva accumulating a great stock of meritorious deed and riding in the Mahayana boat gets into the ocean of the life of a Bodhisattva, he enters in one moment and with effortless knowledge into the realm of knowledge gained by the omniscient. As long as he was dependent upon his ordinary knowledge which is always striving, he could not achieve it even after the elapsing of innumerable kalpas.”¹

When the assertion is made that what has been described in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* somewhat diffusely is the Buddhist life of passivity, we may think it to be very different from what is ordinarily, and especially in the Christian sense, understood to be passive or God-intoxicated or wholly resigned to “thy will” or to *Tariki* (other-power). But the fact is that Buddhism is highly tinged with intellectualism as is seen in the so frequent use of the term “knowledge” (*jñāna* or *prajñā*) though it does not mean knowledge in its relative sense but in its intuitive, supra-intellectual sense. Even in the Pure Land school of Buddhism where the senti-

¹ Rather freely done, for a literal translation would be quite unintelligible to most readers. The text goes on still further into details of the life of the Bodhisattva at the eighth stage of immovability. But the above may be sufficient to show what the spirituality of the Bodhisattva is like when he realises a life of effortless activities.

ment-aspect of the religious life is very much in evidence, the giving-up of the self to the unfathomable wisdom (*acityajñāna*) of the Tathagata goes on hand in hand with the trust in the all-embracing love of Amitābha. Indeed, the final aim of the Shin followers is to attain supreme enlightenment as much as any other Buddhists, though the former's ambition is to do it in the Land of Purity presided over personally by Amitābha Buddha, and in order to be permitted to his Land they put themselves unconditionally under his loving guardianship. As a matter of fact, the two sides of the religious experience, sentiment and intellect, are found commingled in the heart of the Shin devotee. The consciousness of sin is its sentimental aspect while the seeking after enlightenment is its intellectual aspect. While passivism is more strongly visible in the sentiment, it is not at all missing in the Buddhist intellect either, as when the intellect is compelled to abandon its logical reasonings in order to experience the supreme enlightenment attained by the Buddha, or the life of the Bodhisattva which is purposeless, effortless, and above teleological strivings.

To show the difference between the Christian and the Buddhist point of view concerning the fundamental notion of passivism, whereby followers of the respective religions attempt to explain the experience, I quote a suggestive passage from *Theologia Germanica* (p. 96), which stands in close relation to the Buddhist sentiment and yet misses the central point of it.

"Dost thou say now: 'Then there was a Wherefore in Christ'? I answer: 'If thou wert to ask the sun, Why shinest thou? he would say, "I must shine and cannot do otherwise, for it is my nature and property, and the light I give is not of myself, and I do not call it mine."' So likewise is it with God and Christ and all who are godly and belong unto God. In them is no willing, nor working nor desiring but has for its end, goodness as goodness, for the sake of goodness, and they have no other Wherefore than this.' "

With this the Buddhists are in sympathy no doubt, but "goodness" is too Christian and besides does not touch the ultimate ground of all things which is "emptiness." Sings P'ang,¹ therefore, in the following rhythm:

"Old P'ang requires nothing in the world:
 All is empty with him, even a seat he has not.
 For absolute emptiness reigns in his household;
 How empty indeed it is with no treasures!
 When the sun is risen, he walks through emptiness,
 When the sun sets, he sleeps in emptiness;
 Sitting in emptiness he sings his empty songs,
 And his empty songs reverberate through emptiness:
 Be not surprised at emptiness so thoroughly empty,
 For emptiness is the seat of all the Buddhas;
 And emptiness is not understood by men of the world.
 But emptiness is the real treasure:
 If you say there's no emptiness,
 You commit grave offence against the Buddhas."

Emptiness and the Zen life

"Emptiness" (*śūnyatā*) is the gospel of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and also the fountain-head of all the Mahayana philosophies and practical disciplines. It is indeed owing to this emptiness as the ground of existence that this universe is at all possible with its logic, ethics, philosophy, and religion. Emptiness does not mean relativity as is sometimes interpreted by Buddhist scholars, it goes beyond that, it is what makes relativity possible; emptiness is an intuitive truth whereby we can describe existence as related and multifarious. And the Buddhist life of passivity grows out of this intuition which is called *Prajñāpāramitā* in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and *Pratyātmāryajñāna* in the *Lañ-*

¹ Towards the end of the eighth century and early in the ninth, a younger contemporary of Ma-tsu.

kāvatāra-sūtra. The intuition is enlightenment as the culmination of Buddhist discipline and as the beginning of the life of a Bodhisattva. Therefore, we read in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* that all things are established in "non-abiding", which is emptiness, *apratishṭhiti* = *sūnyatā*, and in the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* that *na kvacit pratishṭhitam cittam utpādayitavyam*, "thoughts should be awakened without abiding anywhere." When a thing is established (*pratishṭhita*), there is something fixed, definitely settled, and this determination is the beginning at once of order and confusion. If God is the ultimate ground of all things, he must be emptiness itself. When he is at all determined in either way good or bad, straight or crooked, pure or impure, he submits himself to the principle of relativity, that is, he ceases to be God but a god who is like ourselves mortal and suffers. "To be established nowhere," thus means "to be empty," "to be unattached," "to be perfectly passive," "to be altogether given up to other-power," etc.

This Buddhist or Zen life of emptiness may be illustrated in three ways, each of which has its own signification as it depicts a particular aspect of the life.

1. When Subhūti was sitting quietly in a cave, the gods praised him by showering celestial flowers. Said Subhūti, "Who are you that shower flowers from the sky?"

Said the gods, "We are the gods whose chief is Śakradevendra."

"What are you praising?"

"We praise your discourse on Prajñāpāramitā."

"I have never uttered a word in the discourse of Prajñāpāramitā, and there is nothing for you to praise."

But the gods asserted, "You have not discoursed on anything, and we have not listened to anything; nothing discoursed, nothing heard indeed, and this is true Prajñāpāramitā." So saying, they shook the earth again and showered more flowers.

To this Hsiieh-tou (慧賢) attaches his poem:

“The rain is over, the clouds are frozen, and day is about to break;

A few mountains, picture-like, make their appearance: how blue, how imposing!

Subhūti, knowing nothing, in the rock-cave quietly sits;

Lo, the heavenly flowers are pouring like a rain, with the earth shaking!”

This poem graphically depicts the inner life of emptiness, from which one can see readily that emptiness is not relativity, nor nothingness. In spite of, or rather because of, Subhūti's “knowing nothing,” there is a shower of celestial flowers, there tower the mountains huge and rugged, and they are all like a painting beautiful to look at and enjoyable by all who understand.

2. While Vimalakīrti was discoursing with Mañjuśrī and others, there was a heavenly maiden in the room who was intently listening to all that was going on among them. She now assumed her original form as a goddess and showered heavenly flowers over all the saintly figures assembled here. The flowers that fell on the Bodhisattvas did not stick to them, but those on the Śrāvakas adhered and could not be shaken off though they tried to do so. The heavenly maiden asked Śāriputra, one of the foremost Śrāvakas in the group and well-known for his dialectic ability, “Why do you want to brush off the flowers?” Replied Śāriputra, “They are not in accordance with the Law, hence my brushing.” “O Śāriputra,” said the maiden, “think not that the flowers are not in accordance with the Law. Why? Because they do not discriminate and it is yourself that does the discriminating. Those who lead the ascetic life after the teaching of the Buddha commit an unlawful deed by giving themselves up to discrimination. Such must abandon discrimination, whereby their life will be in accord with the Law. Look at those Bodhisattvas, no flowers can touch them, for they are above all thoughts of discrimination. It is a timid person that affords a chance for an evil spirit to take hold of him.

So with the Śrāvakas, as they dread the cycle of birth and death, they fall a prey to the senses. Those who have gone beyond fears and worries, are not bound by the five desires. The flowers stick where there is yet no loosening of the knots, but they fall away when the loosening is complete." That is to say, when emptiness is realised by us, nothing can take hold of us, neither the flower nor dirt has a point to which it can attach itself.

The life of emptiness, thus we can see, is that of non-discrimination, where the sun is allowed to rise on the evil and on the good, and rain is sent on the just and on the unjust. Discrimination is meant for a world of particulars where our relative individual lives are passed, but when we wish to abide beyond it where real peace obtains, we have to shake off all the dust of relativity and discrimination, which has been clinging to us and tormented us so long. Emptiness ought not to frighten us as is repeatedly given warning in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.

"When all is done and said,
In the end thus shall you find:
He must of all doth bathe in bliss
That hath a quiet mind."¹

Where to find this quiet mind is the great religious problem and the most decided Mahayana Buddhist answer is "In Emptiness."

3. According to the *Transmission of the Lamp* by Tao-yüan, it is recorded that before Fa-yung (594-657) interviewed Tao-hsin, the fourth patriarch of Zen in China, birds used to visit him in a rock-cave where he meditated and offered flowers. Though history remains silent, tradition developed later to the effect that Fa-yung after the interview no more received flower-offerings from his flying admirers of the air. Now a Zen master asks, "Why were there flower-offerings to Fa-yung before his interview with the fourth patriarch? and why not after?" Fa-yung was a great

¹ Lord Vaux Thomas, 1510-1566.

student of the Prajñāpāramitā, that is, of the doctrine of emptiness. Did the birds offer him flowers because he was holy, so empty-minded? But after the interview he lost his holiness for some reason, and did the birds cease to revere him? Is holiness or saintliness the same as emptiness? Is there still anything to be called holy in emptiness? When emptiness is thoroughly realised, does not even holiness or godliness or anything else disappear? Is this not a state of shadowlessness (*anābhāsa*)?

Fa-yen of Wu-tsu Shan was asked this question, "Why were there the flower-offerings to Fa-yung before the interview?" Answered the master, "We all admire the rich and noble." "Why did the offerings cease after the interview?" "We all dislike the poor and humble." Does Wutsu mean that Fa-yung was rich before the interview and therefore liked by all beings belonging to this world, but that, growing poor and empty after the interview, he was no more honoured by anything on earth?

Tao-ch'ien (道潛) who was a disciple of Wên-i (文益, 885-958), however, gave one and the same answer to this double question: "Niu-t'ou." Niu-t'ou is the name of the mountain where Fa-yung used to retire and meditate. Does this mean that Fa-yung is the same old hermit-monk no matter what experience he goes through? Does he mean that the ultimate ground of all things remains the same, remains empty for ever, whether or not diversity and multiplicity characterise its appearances? Where Zen wants us to look for a life of passivity or that of emptiness as it is lived by the Buddhist, will be gleaned from the statements of Subhūti and the heavenly maiden and from the remarks on the flower-offering to Fa-yung.

ON THE PURE LAND DOCTRINE OF TZ'Ū-MIN

The recent discovery of two works by Tz'ū-min, *Ching-tu-ts'u-pe-chi* 淨土慈悲集 (Pure Land Mercy Collection) and *Hsi-fang-tsan* 西方讚 (Western Quarter Hymn), sheds a new light upon the interpretation of his doctrine of the Pure Land, removing the doubt which was entertained by us for a long time and at the same time enabling us to trace the development of the idea which grew out of the attempt of reconciling the Zen meditation with the nembutsu of the Pure Land doctrine—the idea that has ruled the Buddhist world in the Far East since the eighth century.

Life and Works of Tz'ū-min

Tz'ū-min, whose other name was Hui-jih 慧日, was born in the first year of Yung-liu 永隆 (A.D. 680) in the reign of Kao-tzu of the T'ang dynasty. When he was but a boy of sixteen years old, he made up his mind to follow the example of I-tsing 義淨 who had just then come back from his pilgrimage in India. It was in 702 when he was thirty-three years old that he was able to carry out his long-cherished desire; for he then set out to sail by sea to India. He reached there two years later, where he stayed for several years, studying Buddhist philosophy and making occasional trips to the sacred places. He left India in 716 and, journeying by land, reached Chang-an 長安 in 719. In this pilgrimage which lasted eighteen years a year longer than that of Hsüan-chuang, Tz'ū-min seems to have had a great religious experience. He found in India that there were many ardent believers in Amitābha, and he himself was inspired by Avalokiteśvara in Kapisa (though traditionally the place is known as Gandhara), his faith in Amida was greatly strengthened, he came to regard the propagation of the Pure Land doctrine as a mission of his life. Accordingly on his

return to China, he kept himself away from such works as the translation of sutras and so forth, he gave himself up as a simple-hearted devotee to the practice and spreading of the nembutsu. It is for this purpose that he composed the "Hymn to the Constant Meditation" and the "Western Quarter Hymn". He evidently endeavoured to introduce the Pure Land doctrine among the lower classes. For these religious deeds he was later given by Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the T'ang dynasty the posthumous title Tz'ü-min, meaning the benevolent and compassionate.

At that time the chief obstacle on the path of the Pure Land doctrine was the erroneous idea cherished by some of the disciples of Hui-nêng 慧能, the sixth patriarch of Zen in China,—who recommended their own view of meditation as all-important at the expense of other practices which were then prevalent. They tended naturally to disregard the study of Buddhist sutras as well as the observance of morality; the influence thus exercised by the one-sided discipline of Zen Buddhism served to produce an undesirable effect upon the whole Buddhist world of China. This being the case, Tz'ü-min undertook to remind them of their one-sidedness and evil consequences that follow. The *Ching-tu-ts'u-pei-chi* was compiled by him to refute their prejudices of the Zen followers and at the same time to elucidate his own standpoint. He died at the age of sixty-nine in the seventh year of Kai-yüan 開元 in the reign of Hsüan-tsung, that is, in 748.

*On the Transmission of the Works of Tz'ü-min
and the Circumstances of their Loss*

During his lifetime as well as after his death, all his works were in circulation. In China, the *Ching-tu-ts'u-pei-chi* was extant during the era of Chao-Sung (960-1279); this is evident from the fact that both Yen-shou 延壽 (904-975) and Tsan-ning 贊寧 (920-1001) quoted, in their works, some passages from the *Ching-tu-ts'u-pei-chi*; and this is especially the fact that Yüan-chao 元照 (1048-1116) had it

reprinted during the Sung dynasty. In Japan, it was extant till the middle of the Heian period (794—1192). This is known from the fact that we find the book mentioned in the "Catalogue of the Buddhist Scriptures Transmitted into Japan" 東域傳統目錄 compiled by Eichō 永超 in 1094.

In China, however, Yuan-chao's reprint of the book re-awakened the hostile attitude of some Zen followers and owing to the protest of Pao-ying 寶英 of Ssu-ming, the secular authorities ordered the printing blocks to be destroyed and its circulation stopped. Since then the book has entirely disappeared there. (This circumstance is described in detail in the *Fu-tsu-ting-chi* 佛祖統紀, Successive Records of Buddhist Fathers.) In Japan the book was well read in the early days of Buddhism, but it was lost long before the Pure Land school was established as an independent sect by Honen. Fortunately enough, it was secretly transmitted in Korea, as I-t'ien, to whom Yuan-chao had sent a copy, had it reprinted in his own country.

As regards Tz'ü-min's other works, *Pan-chou-san-mei-tsan* 般舟三昧讚 and *Hsi-fang-tsan* 西方讚, they have come down to us in the form of quotations in the works of Fa-chao 法照, one of the disciples of Ch'eng-yuan 承恩, whose master was Tz'ü-min himself. The one volumed *Ching-tu-wu-hui-nien-fo-fa-shih-tsan* 淨土五會念佛略法事儀讚 contains the *Pan-chou-san-mei-tsan* and this was early introduced into Japan and still exists here. But the same author's *Ching-tu-wu-hui-nien-fo-sung-ching-kuan-hsing-i* 淨土五會念佛誦經觀行儀 in three volumes which contains the *Hsi-fang-tsan* never came over to this shore. It may be that this book was lost even before it became at all popular at the time of the persecution which the Emperor Wu carried out against Buddhism in the fifth year of Hui-chang 會昌 (A.D. 845; and accordingly even the existence of the book itself was never suspected in China and in Japan.

*The Recovery of the Ching-tu-ts'u-pei-chi
and the Hsi-fang-tsan*

By good chance, however, both of the books were recovered in succession. A copy of the *Ching-tu-ts'u-pei-chi* which was probably one of those I-t'ien reprinted¹ was discovered in Ting-hua temple 桐華寺 in Korea, while I was searching for some books whose existence is known in history but which we were hitherto unable to recover; my idea is to incorporate them into the "Taisho Tripitaka." To my great regret, however, the *Ching-tu-ts'u-pei-chi* thus discovered accidentally was not a complete copy; being only one of three volumes, of which the original edition consisted.

As regards Fa-chao's *Ching-tu-wu-hui-nien-fo-sung-ching-kuan-hsing-i* in three volumes, the last of which contains Tz'ŭ-min's *Hsi-fang-tsan*, was found in Professor Pelliot's collection of the Tun-huang manuscripts which are now kept in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris. Several years ago, I noticed the title of the book mentioned in his catalogue of the manuscripts and the next spring I was fortunate enough to get its lithographic copy which was brought back to Japan by Mr. S. Akamatsu who was studying in Europe. This book is a valuable piece of literature to the students of the Pure Land doctrine. The recovered copy, however, was not a complete one; the first volume was still missing, as it consisted of three volumes. We hoped that the missing volume might be found in Dr. Stein's collection, but so far we have not been able to get it anywhere.

The Pure Land Doctrine of Tz'ŭ-min

Tz'ŭ-min was a man of virtue rather than a man of intellect, a man of practice rather than a man of learning.

¹ How I-t'ien came to reprint this in Korea is clearly stated in his letter to Yuanchao which is found in Ta-chueh-wen-chi 大覺文集, the complete collection of his literary works.

Though he studied the Buddhist philosophy in India for eighteen years and had a profound knowledge of the doctrine of Yogācāra (the Yuishikishu), he did not translate any Sanskrit sutra, nor did he write any commentaries on the Chinese translations. He devoted all his time to the practice and propagation of the Pure Land doctrine; all his literary activity was directed towards the encouragement of the nembutsu practice. He exercised great influence on his disciple, Ch'eng-yuan 承恩, of Nan-yo 南岳, known as Mi-to-ho-shang 彌陀和尚 or teacher of Amida, whose life and works may be regarded as the reflection of those of the master himself.

Now, let us ask, what attitude did he assume towards other sects of Buddhism, and what zeal did he exhibit in the advocacy of his own faith? In the *Ching-tu-ts'u-pei-chi*, he stood out against those scholars who neglect the practice of piety, though he was at the same time against Zen followers of meditation who disregard the learning of the sutras and so forth as altogether unnecessary. He maintains, without specially favouring any one of the divergent doctrines of Buddha, that learning, meditation, and morality should be pursued with equal force, so that any one of them should not be sacrificed for the sake of others: learning should be backed and strengthened by meditation; and the meditation, with the practice of nembutsu, and the nembutsu, with the observance of morality. He aimed at balancing the three fundamental disciplines of Buddhism.

Thus he founded a new sect on the basis of the following three principal tenets: (1) the harmonious practice of meditation and scholarship; (2) the sympathetic practice of Jōdo nembutsu and Zen meditation; and (3) the practice of the Jōdo nembutsu accompanied with moral deeds. Therefore, he did not object to the meditation practised by the Zen followers of his days, though he did not forget the importance of the nembutsu. He advocated all kinds of nembutsu and did not estimate one kind above the others. It is true that

he preferred the practical nembutsu to the meditative one, but it was for no other reason than that the former was easier to practise than the latter.

The following three manners of the nembutsu followers in their daily service are recommended by him in the *Ching-tu-ts'u-pi-chi* whereby giving his idea of the nembutsu in a nutshell.

(1) One should be strict in deportment and direct one's mind towards the Pure Land of the West, and set one's heart upon Amitabha-Buddha, and invoke his name without interruption: One should always meditate on Amitabha-Buddha, and always invoke his name as well as the names of the two attending Bodhisattvas, Kwannon and Seishi, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta.

(2) One should recite, once a day, the Meditation Sutra and the Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha Sutra.

(3) One should not take wine, nor meat, nor the five stimulating herbs, nor any drug; but keep Buddha's precepts and have the three ways of action purified. Meditate on Buddha and recite sutras; and thus, desire the first grade of rebirth, turning over one's own good works for the beneficence of other fellow-beings.

In short, Tz'ü-min's Pure Land doctrine was determined by his attitude towards the three fundamental disciplines of Buddhism. He insisted that these three should be practised with equal force, so that any one of them should not be sacrificed at the expence of other two. This attitude of his exercised great influence upon the thought of later Buddhists in China and in Korea.

The Pure Land Doctrine after Tz'ü-min

It is now generally acknowledged that the Pure Land doctrine originated in India first and then developed in China, and that, in this Chinese Pure Land doctrine, there were three main branches or currents, namely—

- (1) Hui-yüan 慧遠 branch,
- (2) Tao-cho 道綽 and Shan-tao 善導 branch,
- (3) Tz'ü-min 慈愍 branch.

(Of these, the first one was founded by Hui-yüan (334-416). His nembutsu is regarded as to be based upon the teaching of the Pratyutpannasamadhi sutra 般舟三昧經. His doctrine later merged with the Chinese Tendai, and his nembutsu was transformed into the Jōgyōsammai nembutsu 常行三昧念佛 of the Tendai.

The second one began with Bodhiruci's translation of the "Treatise of Pure Land" by Vasubandhu, and Tan-luan's 曇鸞 commentary on it. When Shan-tao wrote the commentary on the Meditation sutra, this school reached the height of its prosperity.

The third one is based on the doctrine of Tz'ü-min. It was founded, as was mentioned above, on the three principal tenets: (1) harmony between meditation and learning, (2) the reconciliation of Zen meditation and Jōdo recitation, and (3) the practice of nembutsu with morality.

The successors of the last branch are:

As direct ones:

Tz'ü-min—Ch'êng-yüan—Fa-chao—later Buddhism in China;

As collateral ones:

Yen-shou—Zen followers who practise nembutsu with meditation,

Yüan-chao—I-t'ien—The Pure Land doctrine in Korea;

P'u-chao—Korean Buddhism in the present times.

Those who are not in the line but whose views coincide with that of Tz'ü-min, are:

Ch'u-huang,

Chih-kiang.

Fa-chao 法照 (died in 777) was one of the disciples of Ch'êng-yüan, whose master was Tz'ü-min himself. He was thus of the direct line from Tz'ü-min, retaining many

of the characteristic features of Tz'ü-min's doctrine. It was due to the influence of the Tendai doctrine which he studied before he became a follower of the Pure Land doctrine, that he thought the ultimate end of the nembutsu corresponded with the right meditation on the Truth of the Middle Path. He went about in the city of Chang-an, the then capital of China, propagating the Pure Land doctrine. He also went up, Nanyu and Mt. Wutai. Afterwards he founded a temple called Ta-sheng-chu-lin-ssu 大聖竹林寺 at the foot of the Chuang-tai in Mt. Wutai and decided to make it the central place of the Pure Land practice. He propagated the nembutsu known as Wu-hui-nien-fo, Nembutsu in Five Tones. His nembutsu was transmitted into Japan by Jikaku 慈覺 (794-864), a Japanese priest who went over sea to China in order to study Buddhism. Jikaku came back to Japan in 804 and established the Jōgyōsammaidō Temple on Mt. Hiei and founded there the Nembutsu of Jogyosammai which was the main spring of the various schools of the Japanese Pure Land doctrine of later days.

Yen-shou 延壽 (960-1127) was a Zen priest. Therefore, he did not criticise as Tz'ü-min did, but rather defended, those Zen followers of meditation who disregarded the learning of the sutras and such other works as altogether unnecessary. Nevertheless, he agreed with Tz'ü-min in that, the invoking of Buddha's name, the reciting of sutras, and observing of precepts, should be pursued together with meditation. To this effect, he composed the *Wan-shan-tung-kuei-chi* 萬善同歸集, A Treatise on the Oneness of All Good Works, in which he recommended the cooperation of philosophical meditation and practical works; that is, learning, meditation, nembutsu, and morality should be practised on equal terms. In this work, he quotes two important passages from the *Ching-tu-ts'u-pei-chi* of Tz'ü-min. Thus he may be well regarded as one of the successors of Tz'ü-min. However, he put more stress on the nembutsu philosophically interpreted than on the practical one: he maintained that

the abler men should take up the philosophical nembutsu and attain to the Pure Land of Mind-Only, while the practical nembutsu is the means by which people of inferior capacity are enabled to reach the Pure Land. But it should be carefully recognised that the Pure Land of Mind-Only which he advocated was not that created by one's own mind but by the True Mind which comprises all Universes. He had, therefore, a different view on the Pure Land from those Zen followers of later days, who succeeded Tz'ü-min in encouraging the sympathetic practice of Zen meditation and Pure Land nembutsu, but who regarded the Pure Land as a creation of one's own mind.

Yüan-chao 元照 (1048-1116) was a Tendai priest like Fa-chao. He raised a cry against the view of those priests who were then quite influential and favoured the practice of meditation more than any other work. From the standpoint of the *Ching-tu-ts'u-pei-chi* of Tz'ü-min which he reprinted, he insisted on the sympathetic practice of learning, meditation, nembutsu, and morality. But the nembutsu which he advocated strongly was not the philosophical one which was encouraged by Fa-chao and other Tendai followers. His nembutsu was the practical one—the sixteen kinds of nembutsu either in fixed or unfixed states of mind—which are described in the Meditation sutra. He was one of the benefactors of Korean Buddhism: that the Pure Land doctrine of Tz'ü-min branch spread in Korea as far as Hai-tung comes from the fact that he had sent a copy of the *Ching-tu-ts'u-pei-chi* to I-t'ien, of Korea, who reprinted it there in his own country.

P'u-chao 普照, of Korea, was the restorer of modern Korean Buddhism. He was not of the direct line from Tz'ü-min; he rejected the practical nembutsu as the means of salvation for men of inferior intelligence. His central idea was the unification of the teaching of the Kegon and the Zen discipline, which is attained by the harmonious practice of learning and meditation. His attitude towards

Buddhism was somewhat similar to that of Yen-shou, and between his way of thinking and that of Yen-shou we can trace a line of connection. But the nembutsu by which he claims to realise the samadhi of Mind-Only differs from the nembutsu of Yen-shou. According to P'u-chao, the Mind-Only is our own mind and the nembutsu is to be practised in such a way as to get this mind united with tathatā or the suchness of things, that is to say the ultimate truth of existence. This is also the ideal of Zen Buddhism which aims to penetrate into the nature of Buddhahood. What now rules Korean Buddhist thought is this idealism of P'u-chao.

Chu-huang 祿宏 (1535-1615) and Chih-kiang 知旭 (died in 1655), as in the diagram, do not belong to the direct line of successors initiated by Tz'ü-min. The former learned the Zen and the latter the Tendai and both upheld the Buddhist rules of morality and practised the nembutsu. In this, they may be said to be following Tz'ü-min's steps; the unification of Zen discipline and philosophical training and morality is the pivot on which their doctrine developed.

The Pure Land doctrine of Hōnen 法然 is believed to originate in the nembutsu which was practised at the Jōgyōdō Hall on Mt. Hiei. Therefore, from a certain point of view, he may be said to belong to the Tz'ü-min branch. When Hōnen came down from Mt. Hiei, leaving the head temple of the four schools, the Tendai, the Esoteric, the Zen, and the Ritsu (Vinaya), he propagated the Pure Land doctrine of Shantao 善導 which taught the sole practice of invoking Amida's name; the result was the separation of the Jōdo from the Zen, whereas in China and in Korea two schools are united, Jōdo nembutsu going on side by side with Zen practice. From this, we may say that the establishment by Hōnen of an independent Jōdo sect meant the separation of the Jōdo from the Tendai, but really Hōnen's line of nembutsu is derived from Tz'ü-min, as the line shows as in diagram represented before, thus:

Hōnen—Jikaku—Fa-chao—Ch'êng-yuang—Tz'ŭ-min.

In summary, as the result of the discovery of the *Ching-tu-ts'u-pei-chi* and the *Hsi-fang-tsan*, the following facts are established:

- (1) that the doctrine of Tz'ŭ-min which was not known accurately and in detail has now come to be assumed in a tangible form;
- (2) that Tz'ŭ-min is the direct father of Fa-chao, and accordingly the historical father of the Pure Land doctrine in Japan which separated itself from the Nembutsu of Jōgyōsammaidō Hall on Mt. Hiei, that is to say, Japanese Pure Land doctrine belongs to Tz'ŭ-min branch;
- (3) that Tz'ŭ-min was the founder of the doctrine which taught the unification of practical works and philosophical meditation and the harmonious practice of Zen meditation and Jōdo nembutsu.

Since the eighth century, the Zen and the Jōdo have ruled the Buddhist thought world of the Far East: especially the harmonious practice of these two has been its main current, Tz'ŭ-min himself was the founder of that doctrine.

GEMMYO ONO

MILAREPA

AN APPRECIATION OF DR. EVANS-WENTZ' TRANSLATION OF THE
LIFE OF A GREAT TIBETAN YOGIN

It is only of late that the wonderful documents of Tibet have been opened to Western readers by the scholarly labours of Dr. Evans Wentz and other scholars who write in English and whom we cannot sufficiently thank. Japan was more fortunate because of her close connection with Chinese literature and religion and the suzerainty of China over Tibet. Yet here also the Japanese stand heavily indebted to these scholars; for one Japanese who can read Tibetan or make research for himself in Tibet hundreds of thousands can read English and obtain knowledge of indescribable value from Dr. Evans Wentz and other scholars who use the English language. I recommend the study of the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* translated by Dr. Evans Wentz with the help of the Lama Kazi Dawa Samdup to all those who wish their knowledge of the mysterious state before re-birth increased and balanced.

But there is another book by these scholars, the biography written eight hundred years ago by one of his own disciples of a great master of yoga and spiritual insight. I hope to send you to the book itself and therefore I do not enter into the history of religion in Tibet nor of the rival sects. I deal simply with the life and attainment of a great religious genius comparable to some of the mighty masters of Zen. A great corroboration and encouragement. In reading this book the sombre and terrible aspects of life in Tibet must always be remembered. Nature is stern. Religion is stern. Man must be either a victim or a victor. Milarepa made the latter choice and fully justified it.

On the title-page the book is thus named:

“Tibet's Great Yogi, Milarepa
A Biography from the Tibetan.”

Can anything more interesting be imagined? An ancient Tibetan biography written by a worthy pupil—it describes and details every step by which his master became a yogin and so attained the mighty supernormal powers.

This is the only book at present accessible to the ordinary reader which gives an intimate view of Tibetan family life in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of this era. Were it for that social interest alone it should be studied, but there are far higher considerations to send readers to it. In addition it is a perfect repository of folklore and legend. It is one of the sacred books of the East, a lamp to lighten the feet of all true mystics. It is a treatise on what may be called the Making of a Yogin written by one of his immediate disciples, which to those who believe in the personal development and evolution of the higher consciousness and in an order of men devoted to the quest of this great spiritual knowledge must be of the most vital interest. Lastly it is a study of psychology that goes to the deeps and heights of human mentality and beyond.

Legends have reached the West through Madame Blavatsky and others of the spiritual secrets concealed in the snowy fastnesses of Tibet. Here at last is the truth.

It is also of great human interest for those who are marching with and purpose along the pilgrimage of successive births, for this man Milarepa took what may be called a short-cut across almost inaccessible mountains and terrific deserts to the goal achieving in one life what must almost invariably require millenniums. Very few can follow him and to all it is impossible until former lives have forged the steel of a resolution that nothing can deflect. But those who are students of the the Magic Mysteries of Milarepa are the flower of the system of discipline in mystic insight which is called in Tibetan Ta-wa and is taught in many treatises on the Mahamudra Doctrine. This system is declared and practised by the Kargyutpas, the great Tibetan Buddhist school, which devotes itself to the study of the higher con-

sciousness in man, which enables him to command the power of the universe and the best means of disengaging him from the impediments to its realisation. It is on account of their practical application of these doctrines and the austerity of lives passed in caves, mountains or jungle solitudes that the writer of this biography asserts that they are unsurpassed in the soundness of their Buddhist teaching by any other body of followers of the Great Yogin Gotama Buddha, the Enlightened One.

Of the Kargyutpas Milarepa was one of the mightiest masters not only from his yogic powers but from the terrible range of experience which led him through the depths to the heights. By his biographer many of these experiences are conveyed in his own words and in his strangely touching songs—still profoundly venerated in his own country. I quote one or two versified by myself from Dr. Evans Wentz's rendering because for some reasons connected with memorising and so forth I think verse conveys the meaning better than even rhythmic prose and I submit the experiment:

Mighty Milarepa I,
Child of Light and Memory.
Old and naked and forlorn,
From my lips this song is born,
For in wisdom taking heed
Nature is the book I read,
And the staff within my hand
Guides me safe at last to land
Through the ocean waves of Life.
See what I have wrung from Strife!
Mighty lord of Magic I!
Mind and light obediently
Work my marvels. Being made
So divine I need no aid
Of the Earthly Deities
For my Magic Mysteries!"

Not only are doctrines of these yogins of interest to Buddhists but Christians will find many teachings resembl-

ing those of the Gnostic Christians ("Those who know") whom the Church Councils ultimately divorced as heretics and so condemned Europe to the Darkness, superstition and cruelty known to the Christian Churches as the Ages of Faith but as the Dark Ages to scholars.

The book begins thus: I condense:

"I wish to narrate the history of a great yogin who lived in this high snow-clad table-land of Tibet. He was one who had been impressed from early youth by the transient nature of all conditions of earthly existence. He was so captivated by the vision of Immaculate Purity and the Chaste Beauty found in the description of the state of Perfect Freedom and Omniscience bound up with the Nirvana that he cared not though he should lose his very life in the search on which he had set out.

"He was one who eventually ridded himself of the Twofold Shadow of Illusion and Karma and soared into spiritual space till he attained the Goal where all doctrines merge in at-one-ment. Having obtained full power over the mental States he overcame all danger from the elements without and directed them to his own use.

"Having obtained transcendental knowledge in the control of the ethereal and spiritual nature of the mind he was enabled to furnish demonstration thereof by flying through the sky, by walking, resting, and sleeping in the air."

This then is the goal of these Tibetan adepts.—This is the path of one of them, the Great Guru Milarepa.

His name before he entered religion was Thöpagä (Delightful to Hear). He was born in a noble Tibetan family rich in gold, silver and turquoises, possessed of a stately mansion. His mother—named White Garland was also noble. He and his sister Peta entered the world as two of its favourites and so continued until he was advancing toward very young manhood. Then earth's shadow-pictures assumed a very different aspect. His father died.

An avaricious uncle and aunt seized all his property and White Garland and her boy and girl were left in squalid poverty.

White Garland could not suffer in silence. Once when her son came home drunken and singing she rushed out to meet him and overwhelmed him with reproaches.

"Son, you are merry enough to sing? I can do nothing but weep!" and growing in fury she commanded him to learn the art of Black Magic that the wicked uncle and aunt might be destroyed and their posterity be cut off also.

Milarepa promised to obey if she would provide the fees for the Guru who would instruct him in the Black Art. She sold half of a field called Little Famine Carpet for a splendid turquoise known as Radiant Star and a white pony known as Unbridled Lion and with these Milarepa departed to a far-away Lama named Wrathful and Victorious Teacher of Evil.

In Tibet from time immemorial it has been and is believed that just as noble powers can be acquired through the discipline Milarepa was afterwards to undergo, so also this power can be turned to evil account. Of course this belief is not peculiar to Tibet. Power is power and can be used as its wielder wills, but this book throws most interesting light on the dangers as well as the spiritual gains. So for nearly a year Milarepa (then called Thöpagpa) studied black magic and felt that in reality he had not received much in return for Radiant Star and Unbridled Lion—and that he could not return unarmed with magic, for his mother had sworn to kill herself if she might not see the desire of her eyes upon her enemies. Prostrated before his teacher he prayed for mightier weapons telling him his pitiful story. The Guru replied that he would no longer withhold full instruction and with the aid of another powerful Lama Milarepa was then instructed in the art of launching death and of producing and guiding disastrous hail-storms. It is a common belief in Tibet that these death-dealing storms are

often produced by vengeful men, and other lamas are often employed to combat them.

Now comes Milarepa's vengeance. His uncle's eldest son was to be married and a magnificent feast was spread for a party including all those neighbours who had taken sides with the uncle and aunt—thirty-five persons in all. Others, kinder-hearted, were also going to the banquet. Choosing that moment Milarepa loosed destruction upon the house. Visions of horrible presences were seen and the great number of horses secured in a courtyard within began kicking and plunging until they broke down the main pillar and the whole house crashed into ruin bearing the thirty-five people and the horses to a horrible death. The uncle and aunt survived. Then the mother of Milarepa exulted in her joy:

"All glory to the Teachers and the Gods! Look at the human beings and animals! Could any moment of my life ever equal of this perfect triumphant joy!"

The neighbours listened partly in fear and partly in disgust for the sight was fearful. White Garland's brother rebuked her sternly, telling her that by infuriating the people she was endangering her own life and her son's which was already threatened.

"Lock the doors. The murderers will come," he said.

In great terror White Garland sent to warn Milarepa that he must not come near the place or they would kill him in revenge for his magic. She sent him seven hidden pieces of gold gained by the sale of the rest of her Famine Carpet field. But even with this her longing for revenge was not yet sated—she wrote—

"They hate us and mean us no good. I now request you to launch a terrible hailstorm. That will complete the satisfaction of your old mother."

Inspired by his mother's hatred Milarepa returned to his teacher of magic and told him that he had need for a plague of hail. Full of pride in his pupil he gave him the charm, asking how tall the barley would be at that time.

"Only tall enough to hide the pigeons," Milarepa replied, agreeing that this was too early yet for the full harm to be done. At length the time came, he journeyed with a fellow-pupil to the neighbourhood of the place he would destroy and having come he launched a great and terrible hailstorm, striking the earth with his robe and weeping bitterly. And the hail came in three great storms destroying the whole harvest and appalling the people. Escaping their vengeance Milarepa made his way back to his Guru who already knew what had befallen him.

Says Milarepa: "Thus I committed black deeds, avenging the wrongs done by my enemies, waging deadly war with them."

Now repentance and sorrow stole into his mind in considering the frightful wrongs he had done, and Peace forsook him and fled. This was strengthened by the death of his Guru's friend, and his Guru spoke to him saying—

"How transitory are all states of existence! Last night that excellent layman passed away and I mourn. Moreover, from a boy I have spent my whole time in the practise of sorcery, by the Black Magic producing death and hailstorms. And you, my son, from your youth have taken to this sinful art and have already gathered a heap of evil karma which will lay a heavy load on me, for I am responsible."

Deeply moved Milarepa asked if there were hope for such as he and his weeping Guru replied:

"I understand that all sentient beings possess a ray of the Eternal, I wish to devote myself to sound teaching. Go, yourself, learn and practise the holy Dharma (Law) on my behalf as well as your own."

He then presented Milarepa with the necessary fees—a yak-load of fine Yarlung woollen cloth with the yak himself and directed him to a great and famous Lama who in turn sent him on to a greater known as Marpa the Translator, because he had translated many Buddhist and Tantric scriptures which he had secured in India.

All along the way the heart of Milarepa yearned to see Marpa the Translator and he knew that between himself and Marpa was a strong karmic connection. So he went the long way, thinking:

“When shall I set my eyes upon my Guru’s! When shall I behold his face!”

But before he came the Guru and his wife had each had a dream concerning him, and Marpa the Translator resolved that of his best teaching he should have plenty and of hard abuse and austerity much more so that he should be tempered into the steel of a great God’s sword. For the soil must be ploughed and harrowed and given neither peace nor rest until it is ready for the seed and then it must be watered by painful tears and blown by great winds of misery — and the more so in the case of Milarepa who for the past years had been heaping up a frightful karma and yet dared dream of attainment in the space of one life. When he met him Milarepa bowed down and placed his Guru’s holy feet upon the crown of his head weeping and declared that he had been a very great sinner.

The Guru replied:—“Your sins have nothing to do with me. What sins have you committed?”

Now Marpa the Translator is another of the great Gurus of the Kargyutpas School in Tibet and his life which is told in this biography of Milarepa is that of a strong wise layman such as Vimalakirti of the Buddhist Scripture might have lived,—the very man of all others to whom the sensitive morbid Thöpagā did well to go to. And now began his long and dreadful novitiate.

It would be vain to tell the cruel tests and trials with which he afflicted Milarepa acting as though he hated him while in reality his heart was full of tenderness. For years these lasted and had it not been for the kind patience and affection of his Guru’s wife, Damema, Milarepa must either have escaped or committed suicide. For all the story of these sufferings and their causes I refer you to the book.

Let it be enough to say that Milarepa despaired of himself. Years were paid out like golden coin to obtain in return no helpful teaching. Marpa would call the young man "The Great Sorcerer" thereby keeping open the wound of his remorse.

Yet after many matters of deep instruction and interest in the book he at last condescended to express his mind and spoke with kindness to his young disciple promising to give him all this wisdom now and himself to set him to meditate. The joy of Milarepa was unbounded! It is impossible to relate his gratitude. His heart exulted as he drank from the Consecrated Cup blessed by Marpa his Master until a halo like a rainbow encircled it. Also his Master foretold that Milarepa would certainly attain entire freedom of spirit and that his body would gain complete control over the vital warmth.

This vital warmth is well known to the Himalayan yogins and to those who practise the yoga breathing and meditation in one form or other. It is a bodily warmth rendering a man immune to all coldness and is a great step on the way to power. By this means a student of the higher consciousness until beyond the contraries of heat and cold, damp and dryness which affect the ordinary man.

After this Milarepa, not forgetting his sins, but going far beyond them continued in a great meditation,—indeed for eleven months. In this way years went by and his Guru imparted to him the deep secrets of power which are ear-whispered from Guru to pupil, desiring him to remain with him to attain further knowledge of the esoteric systems of attaining enlightenment and to practise meditation under his guidance. But after many years Milarepa desired with longing to see his mother and sister and permission being given he returned to his own country and there he found his house a desolation where bats and rats alone inhabited and the bones of his mother lay within it and his sister had wandered away as a beggar. Only his aunt and uncle

survived and they treated him as before with rapacious cruelty.

He resolved to present what was left of any possessions to his aunt and to return to meditation in a great cave as one who seeing the treachery and cruelty of this world's appearances disowns it altogether. And there he abode and the people upon whom he had loosed the hail-storms would have killed him if they could.

In addition to the meditations which Milarepa practised his course of life is very interesting:

He took no stimulant nor any narcotic drugs, whether alcohol, tobacco or the universally used Tibetan tea for these stimulants are often used to drown exhaustion and what is called nervous instability and though they appear to do this the last state of the addict is worse than the first. There is but one way of out-pacing sorrow and care and that is to reach the purely spiritual state rejoicing that sorrow and care have been fellow-travellers on the way acting as sharp spurs to goad a man to effort—if it were but to escape from them. His food was purely vegetarian and finally he attempted to live upon boiled nettles which proved insufficient to sustain him and seriously hindered his attainment to enlightenment. His sister and the girl Zetzay to whom he had been betrothed in his childhood visited him with affection and reverence yet he would not leave his solitude nor his frugal diet. Steadfastly he held to the spiritual path never once taking his eyes from the goal. A striking contrast to his earlier ambition! When men passed his cave and gazed pityingly at his miserable condition he triumphed in it singing this song—

“Here enfolded in a cave
Milarepa strong to save
Casts aside all thought of life,
Victor in another strife.
Soft to me my mattress bed
Warm the quiet above it spread

Good the simple food I choose
Blessed in nature and in use.
Good the mind as clear as Light
Bathing in its pure delight.
Let your idle prattle cease
Leave the Yogin to his Peace!"

So in his austerity Milarepa committed the same noble error as the Lord Buddha originally did and disowned it through the same experience. He carried his asceticism so far that at last the body could no more respond to the cry of the spirit and he could not in this fashion gain his heart's desire to behold the truth in its nakedness of beauty. Then, much as happened to the World-Honoured his sister brought him nourishing food and this he ate. Marpa the Translator his Guru had warned him that it is desirable that from time to time the food should be changed as a man travels on the Path of Accomplishment. Gradually came a great and marvellous change. It is often the tendency of the seeker to starve and deprive the body but all should acquaint themselves with the simple rules of health in a cheerful temperance and use their bodies as a helper and not an enemy. From a scroll given him by his Master he read the instructions as to the necessary means and exercises to be used at this stage. The result was—to use his own words couched in the terms of the yogin—

"I saw that the minuter nerves of my system were being straightened out, even loosening, and I experienced a state of supersensual calmness and clearness resembling the former states I had experienced but exceeding them in its depth and ecstatic intensity. Thus was a hitherto unknown and transcendent knowledge born in me. Soaring free above the obstacles I knew that the very evil had turned to good. I understood that the Universal Cause is mind. This Universal Cause when directed along the path of Selfishness results in rebirth in earth and its sorrows while if it be directed along the path of Selflessness it results in the Peace. This know-

ledge was born of my former devotions and only awaited the accident at the crisis to bring it forth."

So he experienced that spring to life of the supernal consciousness with sudden enlightenment as is almost universally the case with the mystics of East and West. The great lesson to be learned from this experience is that the body is but a raft and when it has brought the man to his destination it can be forgotten—but until that time it must be kept in good condition lest it sink in mid stream. Now his life was changed. He no longer lived in entire solitude but shared his light with others, helping them to tread the difficult path by the light his lamp shed upon it. There gathered about him a band of beloved and devoted disciples one of whom (Rechung) was the writer of his Biography. Far and wide his fame spread among the peoples of the districts and his wisdom was an undying inspiration to the people of Tibet. Also, his personal attainment of Tantric practises and rewards was marvellous. He says—

"At last I could actually fly. Sometimes I flew over to the Castle lying in shadows to the eye-brows to meditate and there a far greater share of Vital Warmth than before possessed me. Others saw me."

He also acquired the power of multiplication of personality referred to by the Gotama Buddha in the reminder of his own powers as a yogin. Milarepa thus describes his—

"To me there is no reality either in illness or in death. I have manifested here the phenomena of illness; I will manifest the phenomena of death at Chubar. For this I need no palankeen. Some of the younger Repas (disciples) may go on ahead to Chubar."

Thereupon some of the younger disciples went on ahead, but they found that Jetsun had already reached the Cave of Brilche (Cow-yak's Tongue.) The elder disciples who followed later, escorted and attended another Jetsun. Another Jetsun was at the Poison to Touch Rock manifesting the phenomena of illness. While the one Jetsun was being

escorted and served by devout followers on the journey to Chubar, another was preaching to those who had assembled for a final sermon at the Red Rock. And, again, to every one who remained at home and made religious offering in farewell to Jetsun, a Jetsun appeared.

.... "Thus everyone claimed Jetsun as having been their honoured guest and recipient of services of veneration, and they could come to no agreement. Finally, in one united group they put the question to Jetsun himself and he said—'All of you are right. It was I who was playing with you.' "

For the understanding of these powers it is well to study the Raja Yoga of Patanjali and the realisation of the body itself as a mere manifestation of cosmic energy to be controlled in any direction of manifestation and therefore in that which seemed miraculous to the ordinary observer. But like all the Truly Instructed he strongly disapproved of their use for other than selfless and religious purposes—

"I adjure you never to perform sacred Tantric rites with a view to success in worldly pursuits; though selfish folk (who know no better) are not to blame in so doing. I have passed my life in incessant practise of the Highest Tantric Truths in order to benefit all sentient beings."

He spoke as one having bitter experience for he knew the black side of these Tantric rites which had spread ruin among the people of his village, and realised the appalling toil required to remove this evil and its consequences during his novitiate with his Master Marpa. When the time came for him to pass away and his disciples asked for instruction he stressed the simplicity of his bodily life and that there was little for him to do in setting his affairs in order.

"As I own no monastery or temple I need not appoint any one to succeed me. The bleak, sterile hills and the mountain-peaks and the other solitary retreats or hermitages all of you may possess and occupy. All sentient beings of the Six Worlds you may protect as your children and fol-

lowers. Instead of erecting memorial stones cultivate loving kindness towards all parts of the Dharma and set up the Victorious Banner of Devotion. . . . For periodical ceremonies (in memory of my passing away) offer me earnest prayer from the innermost recesses of your hearts."

For their own advancement he says—

"If you find a certain practice increaseth your evil passions and tends to selfishness abandon it, though it may appear virtuous; and if any line of action tend to counteract the Five Evil Passions and to benefit sentient beings, know that to be true and holy Dharma and continue it, even though it should appear to be sinful to those bound to worldly conventionalities."

The story of his death that Rechung records is beautiful and mystical. Having overcome the illusions of the ego he manifested himself at several places at once, preaching to many people and exhorting them in a true Buddhist spirit. With a psalm of advice to his disciples Jetsun Milarepa ends his earthly manifestation—this is the last verse:

"If you tread the Secret Path ye shall find the shortest way;

If you realise the Voidness, Compassion will arise within your hearts;

If you lose all differentiation between yourselves and others, fit to serve others you will be;

And when in serving others you shall win success then shall ye meet with me,—

And finding me ye shall attain to Buddhahood.

To me, and to the Buddha, and the Brotherhood of my disciples

Pray ye, earnestly, without distinguishing one from the other."

After this he sank into the quiescent state of Samadhi—"Thus did Jetsun (Milarepa) pass away at the age of eighty-four years on the fourteenth day of the last of the three winter months of the Wood Hare Year (A.D. 1135) at dawn."

His age was that of Shakyamuni, and his manner of

passing the same. So has it been with many of the great Arhats of Buddhism.

It is impossible in this brief article to do any justice to his spiritual teachings and ecstasies of love and devotion which inspired the knowledge in so many that Life itself is Yoga and every thought word and deed a part of the mystic practice. My sincere hope is that this short resumé of his biography will send many readers to the excellent translation by Dr. Evans Wentz in which much of the most beautiful and highest Buddhist philosophy is stated simply, and the example of this true Buddhist yogin finds a fitting commemoration.

“Thus endeth the history of the Great Yogi named Mila-Zhadpa-Dorje the Guide to Deliverance and Omniscience, and the Bestower of the Bliss of Nirvana upon all sangsarie beings alike for ever and ever in the blissful feast of the auspicious gift of eternally increasing blessings.”

L. ADAMS BECK

THE HYMN ON THE LIFE AND VOWS OF SAMANTABHADRĀ

I

INTRODUCTION

My object of editing the Hymn is to produce a perfect Sanskrit text as far as the present source of information and the facility of obtaining the material and the scholarship of the present editor permit. The importance of the text has been well known in Japan since early days, not only from the doctrinal point of view but as a piece of Buddhist Sanskrit literature accessible to Japanese scholars. Jiun 慈雲 (1718–1804) and his followers were among the foremost students of the text. The one who brought it first from China was Kōbōdaishi (774–835). When the late Dr. Bunyiu Nanjio was studying Sanskrit under Max Müller of Oxford, he collected according to the advice of his teacher as many original Sanskrit texts as he could at the time; among those there were the *Smaller Sukhāvativyūha*, *Vajracchedikā*, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*, and *Bhadracarī*. Nanjio however did not have the chance to study the *Bhadracarī*, and it was possible that his friend Kenju Kasawara was planning to take up this study himself. Dr. Kaikioku Watanabe was the first who made a thorough investigation of the text while he was studying in Germany (1900–1910), the result was published in Leipzig;¹ but the pamphlet is almost inaccessible at present. All the problems that may be raised concerning the *Bhadracarīprāṇidhāna* are discussed in it. My partial study of the text took place in 1909 and a comparison of the different Chinese and Tibetan translations of the Hymn appeared in a Japanese magazine called *Mujinto* (無盡燈), but I was un-

¹ *Die Bhadracarī*, eine Probe buddhistisch-religiöser Lyrik untersucht und herausgegeben. Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der philosophischen Fakultät der Kaiser Wilhelms-Universität zu Strassburg, vorgelegt von Kaikioku Watanabe aus Tokio. Leipzig, Druck von G. Kreysing, 1912.

fortunately prevented from pursuing the study any further.

This Hymn sometimes known as an epitomised *Kegon-kyo* 華嚴經 contains the essence of the Buddhist life expressing itself in the ten vows and culminating in rebirth in the Pure Land of Amitābha. It may be in a way regarded as the foreshadowing of the Pure Land doctrine.

Samantabhadra, frequently abbreviated as Bhadra, is one of the most important Bodhisattvas belonging to Mahayana Buddhism; he symbolises in his life, virtues, and vows everything that is required of a good faithful follower of the Buddha.

It has been widely circulated as an independent Hymn all over the Buddhist countries, but the title varies according to the localities where it is found: in Japan, *Bhadracarī nāma samantabhadra-praṇidhānam*; in Nepal, *Bhadracarī-praṇidhāna*, or *Ārya-bhadracarī(-mahā)-praṇidhāna-rāja*; in Tibet, *Ārya-samantabhadra-caryā-praṇidhāna-rāja*;¹ quoted in Śāntideva's *Śikshāsamuccaya* (pp. 290, 291,² 297) as *Ārya-bhadra-caryā-gāthā*.

Going over these different titles, we conclude that Bhadra is the abbreviation of Samantabhadra, and that carī stands for caryā. It is likely that the Hymn was first written in a dialect form which was later turned into classical Sanskrit.

The composition of the Hymn must have taken place rather early in the history of the Mahayana sutras. When Buddhābhaddra translated (A.D. 418–420) the *Sixty-Volume-Kegonkyo* in which the sutras belonging to the Kegon family are put together, he did not find this Hymn in the *Kegonkyo*, and produced it as an independent work in 420 A.D. under the title, *Wên shu shih li fa yüan ching* 文殊師利發願經 *Mañjuśrīpraṇidhāna-sūtra*.

According to the statement in the *Ch'u san tsang hi chi* 出三藏記集, the following was found inscribed in the Chinese

¹ “Rāja” is dropped in three of the five commentaries on the Hymn.

² *Ārya* is omitted here.

translation: "The four groups of Buddhists in the foreign country generally recite this Hymn when they worship the Buddha, vowing to seek the truth of Buddhism." From this we may infer that the Hymn was in wide circulation in India at the time of the Chinese translator, both among the ordained and the lay followers.

In one of the esoteric sutras known as *Ch'ên chiu miao fa lien hua ching wang yu ch'ieh kuan chih i kuci (ching)* 成就妙法蓮華經王瑜伽觀智儀軌(經) the following reference is made to the Hymn, "After making proper obeisance to the Buddha the devotee should once recite the Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna with singleness of mind, thinking of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and reflecting with a pure heart on the signification of each phrase of the Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna." The Sutra is concerned evidently with the honouring of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sutra, and yet the devotee is asked reverently to recite the Hymn in connection with it. This shows that the recitation of the Hymn formed a regular part in the Buddhist service already in the seventh century when the above-mentioned sutra was translated into Chinese.

We read in the life of Amogha in the *Biographies of the High Priests* completed in the Sung dynasty (988 A.D.) that Amogha when a child was able to recite the *Wên shu p'u hsien hin yüan* 文殊普賢行願 in two nights while other children were supposed to learn it by heart in one year. Amogha was one of the translators of the Hymn. No doubt it was still popularly recited among the Indian Buddhists.

Seeing that during the last two thousand years the Hymn has been treated as containing the gist of Mahayana Buddhism crystallising all the merits in connection with the life of the bodhisattva, the Hymn deserves a careful study on the part of scholars.

There are three Chinese translations of this Hymn. The oldest of them is Buddhābhaddra's *Mañjuśrī-praṇidhāna Sūtra* (文殊師利發願經), of which mention is made above;

compared with the present Sanskrit text here reproduced Buddhabhadra's translation has less stanzas, and as to its contents we notice some disagreement in detail. Buddhabhadra's line consists of five Chinese characters instead of seven as in other cases. Translation is not quite literal, that, is, it is not a word-for-word translation, but the translator seems to have a better grasp of the meaning. It is interesting to note that Buddhabhadra's title is *Mañjuśrīprañidhāna* and not *Samantabhadra-caryā-prañidhāna*, by which latter title the Hymn is now better known to us. Is it possible that originally Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra were different names for the same individual Bodhisattva as is sometimes maintained by some Chinese Buddhist exegetists? It is certain that the Hymn was known at one time in its history as *Mañjuśrīprañidhāna* and not as *Samantabhadra-prañidhāna*.

The second Chinese translation was done by Amoghavajra in the reign of Tai Tsung (763-779) of the T'ang dynasty under the title *P'u hsien p'u sa hin yüan tsan* (普賢菩薩行願讚). This agrees best with the Sanskrit.

The third one was produced by Prājña, in the twelfth year of Chên yüan (796) as the concluding Gāthās of the *Forty-Volume Kegongyo* (四十華嚴). The work began on the fifth day of the sixth month of the twelfth year of Chên yüan (796), and a complete copy was presented to the emperor on the twenty-fourth day of the second month of the fourteenth year of the same era. This on the whole agrees with the Sanskrit.

As mentioned above, this Hymn was circulated independently, when it first came to China; perhaps it was so in India too. And it was not until when the *Forty-Volume Kegongyo* was translated that the Hymn was found itself incorporated in the *Kegongyo*. Later on, however, it became detached again from the mother Sutra assuming its independence; in Nepal we find the Hymn circulated as such. And in Japan too it is recited and studied as not necessarily belonging to the *Kegongyo*.

The fact that it was once taken into the body of the *Kegongyo* is shown by the prose prologue which is found in the Nepalese text as well as in the Japanese even when it is used separately.

According to Ch'eng kuan 澄觀 who wrote a commentary on the *Fourty-Volume Kegongyo* there was an entry in the two preceding translations, Buddhābhaddra's and Amoghavajra's, to the following effect:

"In each of the two preceding translations we read that 'this is the work of *Hsien chi hsiang p'u sa* 賢吉祥菩薩 (Bhadrāsri Bodhisattva), and not a sutra preached by Buddha himself'. But as we know that this is the teaching of *P'u hsien p'u sa* 普賢菩薩 (Samantabhadra Bodhisattva), there is a confusion of the names [in the above entry], that is between *P'u hsien* 普賢 (Samantabhadra) and *Hsien shou* 賢首 (Bhadrāsri); and again as this Hymn has been in circulation generally independently, so it is probable that the ancient masters of the Tripitaka regarded it as not one of the Sutras preached by Buddha himself."

It is difficult to know how *Hsien shou* 賢首 came to be confused with *P'u hsien* 普賢, because there seems to be great difference between the two terms, except Bhadra which is common to them. If any confusion were possible, it might take place between Bhadracarī and Bhadrāsri. And it is likely that the Hymn was known in some quarters under the title of Bhadrāsri-praṇidhāna instead of Bhadracarī-praṇidhāna, which latter being the title of our text. From this fact the Hymn probably came to be known as the work of Bhadrāsri, that is, *Hsien chi hsiang* 賢吉祥 or *Hsien shou* 賢首. While the Hymn is generally entitled as *Bhadracarī-praṇidhāna* as we have already noted, we have reason to suspect that it was also known among some Mahayanists as *Mañjuśrī-praṇidhāna*;¹ for Buddhābhaddra's Chinese translation bears this title.

¹ Mañju is the synonym of Bhadra as they both mean "beautiful" or "lovely."

According to Tsung mi's (宗密) view which is recorded as a note to this passage, he thinks Bhadrāsri extracted these passages from the Sutra relating to the life and vows of the Bodhisattva and made them into a form of Hymn.

The Hymn that was introduced into Japan was the one brought over to China by Amoghavajra. Amoghavajra who came to China about 747 A.D. was a representative of the esoteric Buddhism which at the time prevailed in the southern India and Ceylon. He brought a number of Sutras belonging to this school and the Bhadracarī-praṇidhāna was among them. It was Kūkai 空海 who first brought the Hymn to Japan in 806 A.D.; he was the disciple of Hui kuo 慧果 and Hui kuo transmitted the esoterism of Amoghavajra.

After Kūkai, Engyo 圓行 who was his disciple brought two handwritten copies of the Hymn (836). Eight years after Engyo, Eun 惠運 brought another copy of the Hymn from China; Ennin 圓仁 was the last importer of the text from China. Hitherto the Hymn was brought by the Buddhist priests of the Shingon sect, but for the first time a priest belonging to the Japanese Tendai school carried a copy of it back to Japan. Altogether five different copies came over here from China, but the one we still have belongs to Kūkai's transmission; all the rest are lost now.

Kūkai's original copy is evidently lost, but four different copies of it are still in existence, and the oldest one dates back as far as 966. And the text in circulation at present is the one revised by Jiun who carefully collated the four different copies made from Kūkai's original copy. Jiun's revision probably dates not later than 1767, this being the year when he began to lecture on his own manuscript of the *Bhadracarī-praṇidhāna*.

The text is not written in pure classical Sanskrit throughout; a great deal of the Gatha dialect is mixed as is shown in the following table:¹

¹ Here the numerical figures refer to the verses, and the annexed letters, a, b, c, d to the divisions of a verse. The pure Sanskrit form is in parentheses.

- agri (agre), 3a, 28a.
 agru (agras), 48d.
 acintiya (acintya), 28b.
 atitaku (aītakas), 13a.
 adhimucyami (adhimucyāmi), 53a.
 7b.
 adhyeshami (adhyeshāmi),
 10c.
 anantariyāṇi (anantaryāṇi),
 51a.
 anuttaru (anuttaras), 10d.
 anumodayamī (anumo-
 dayāmi), 9d.
 abhinirhari (abhinirhare),
 34b.
 abhiyācami (abhiyācāmi),
 11b.
 alaṃkṛtu (alaṃkṛtas), 47b.
 aśeshata (aśeshatas), 3c, 29a,
 34c.
 asaṅgata (asaṅgatā), 10b.
 ahu (aham), 1c, 4d, 8d, 9d,
 10c, 12d, 16d, 18d, 33b, 35d,
 41c, 59c, 60c.
 āmukhi (āmukhe), 58b.
 imi (ime), 58a.
 imu (imam), 42d, 48d, 50b,
 51c, 54a, 55d.
 ekacarī (ekacaryā), 23d.
 otari (avatāre or avataret),
 29d, 33c, 34d.
 kareya (kurvīya), 25c.
 karmatu (karmatas), 20a, 46c.
 kāyatu (kāyatas), 1d, 8c, 23c,
 43a.
 kālakryam (kālakriyām), 57a.
 keci (kecit), 1a, 14a, 15a.
 kriya (kriyām), 44d.
 kleśatu (kleśatas), 20a, 46c.
 kshipru (kshipram), 49c, 51d,
 53a.
 kshetrā (kshetrāṇi), 28a.
 kshetri (kshetre), 25b.
 gatāna (gatānam), 41a.
 gatīshu (gatishu), 16b, 20b.
 gatebhi (gatais), 14c.
 gatva (gatvā), 53b.
 gotratu (gotratas), 52b.
 cakru (cakram), 10d.
 cari (caryā), 22abc, 26bc, 28d,
 41b.
 cariyāya (caryāyām), 45c.
 cariyāye (caryāye), 23a.
 carī (caryā), 23d.
 cariye (caryāye), 42c, 45a.
 carya (caryā), 43b.
 cārika (carikaḥ), 29d.
 jagasya (jagatas), 9a, 11d,
 15c, 21c, 30c, 61d.
 janetha (jāya or jāyasva),
 54d.
 jātismaru (jātismaras), 16b.
 jānati (jānāti), 55a.
 jānayaī (jāni), 45d.
 jināna (jinānām), 2b, 4c, 26a.
 jinebhi (jinais), 14c, 56a.
 jinebhiḥ (jinais), 3d.
 jñānatu (jñānatas), 27b, 52a.
 jyeshṭhaku (jyeshṭhakas),
 42a.
 tahi (tatra), 59a.
 tāvata (tāvat), 46d.

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| tebhi (tebhis), 23b, 24c, 56a. | paśyiya (paśyeya), 33b, 57c. |
| triyadhva (tryadhva), 1b, 29b, | paśye (paśyeya), 25a. |
| 31b, 32c, 33a, 34a, 41a, 56a. | pāpaku (pāpakas), 51a. |
| tha (atha), 29c. | pāpu (pāpas), 8a. |
| thāpayamānaḥ (sthāpayamānaḥ), 21b. | pi (api), 29c. |
| thihantu (tishṭhantu), 11c. | pūnyatu (pūnyatas), 27b. |
| thihitvā (sthitvā), 45c. | pūja (pūjā), 7a. |
| dadeyam (dadyām), 47d. | pūjayamī (pūjayāmi), 7d. |
| dadyu (dadyām), 47b. | pūjitu (pūjitas), 52d. |
| darśitu (drashṭu), 11a. | pūrayi (pūrayeya), 38d, 41c, 44d. |
| dukhām (duḥkhāni), 21a. | pratideśayamī (pratideśayāmi), 8d. |
| deśayi (deśaye), 18d. | pradakṣiṇu (pradakṣiṇa), 15d. |
| dveshatu (dveshatas), 8b. | pramāṇu (pramāṇam), 45ab. |
| dharsayi (dharśayēt), 53d. | pravartayi (pravartayet), 53c. |
| dhārayamāṇu (dhārayamāṇas), 26a. | bodhayi (bodhaye), 12d, 19b. |
| dhārayi (dhārayet), 54b. | bhadracarī (bhadracaryā), 49d, 51c, 54a, 62a. |
| dharmata (dharmatā), 3c. | bhadracarī (bhadracaryā), 2d, 7c, 38d, 61a. |
| dhārmiku (dhārmikas), 15c. | bhadracarīya (bhadracaryāyas or -caryāyām), 24b, 41d, 44a. |
| dhimucyami (adhimucyāmi), 3d. | bhadracarīye (bhadracaryāye), 56d. |
| dheshana (adhyeshana), 12b. | bhavi (bhava), 16b, 27a. |
| dhriyanti (dhriyante), 13b. | bhaveyya (bhaveyam or bhavet), 45ab. |
| nāmana (nāma), 43c. | bhaveyya (bhaveyam or bhavet), 16d, 23b, 24c, 46a. |
| nāmayamī (nāmayāmi), 12d, 42d, 55d. | bhaveyyu (bhaveyus), 58b. |
| nityu (nityam), 16d, 24c. | bhoti (bhavati), 51d, 52d. |
| nishaṇṇaku (nishaṇṇakas), 3b, 28c. | bhotu (bhavatu), 19d, 43d, 52b. |
| parikshayu (parikshayas), 19d, 51d. | |
| paripūri (paripūrṇīya), 58c. | |
| parivṛtu (parivṛtas), 25b. | |
| paśyi (paśyet), 49c. | |

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| bhontu (bhavantu), 13a, 14d, 15d. | vibudhyana (vibudhāna), 35b. |
| ma (mā), 54d. | vibudhyiya (vibudhyeyam), 41d. |
| mañjuśirī (mañjuśrī), 44b, 55a. | vimuktu (vimuktas), 20b. |
| maṇḍali (maṇḍale), 59a. | virāgayi (virāgaye), 24d. |
| manena (manasā), 1d, 2c, 8c. | śubhāye (śubhāyai), 44a. |
| mayi (mayā), 8a, 12c, 61b. | śobhani (śobhane), 59a. |
| māru (māras), 53d. | śrutva (śrutvā), 48b. |
| mitrā (mitrāṇi), 24a. | saṁcitu (saṁcitas), 12c. |
| yatha (yathā), 55a. | sattvahitaṁkari (sattva- hitaṁkare), 58d. |
| yasyimu (yasyemam), 49d. | sada (sadā), 15b. |
| yāvata (yāvat), 1a, 14a, 15a, 21d, 46a, 46c, 58d. | samantatabhadra (samanta- bhadra), 42b, 50c, 55b. |
| yotra (yatra), 54c. | samāgamu (samāgamas), 24c. |
| rāgatu (rāgatas), 8b. | sasainyaku (sasainyakas), 53d. |
| tutebhi (tutais), 18ab. | sarvi (sarve), 1c, 10c, 21a, 22d, 25d, 35d, 41c, 44cd, 45d. |
| rūpatu (rūpatas), 52a. | sujīvitu (sujīvitas), 50a. |
| labheyya (labbheyam), 59c. | sutāna (sutānām), 3b, 28c. |
| vandami (vandāmi), 1c, 7d. | sutu (sutas), 42a. |
| varebhi (varais), 5ac, 6ab. | sutebhi (sutais), 14d, 25d. |
| varṇatu (varṇatas), 52b. | sukhāvati (sukhāvatī), 57d. |
| vāca (vācā), 1d, 8c. | stavamī (stavāmi), 4d. |
| vācatu (vācatas), 23c. | svāgatu (svāgatas), 50b. |
| vācayi (vācayet), 54b. | |
| vikurvitu (vikunvitas), 45d. | |
| vi jānati (vi jānāti), 54c. | |
| vidusya (idurasya), 42c, 43c. | |

II

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

1. All the lions of mankind in all the three divisions of time who are in the ten quarters of the universe—all these

without exception, I, the pure one, salute with body, speech, and mind.

2. Making my body as numerous as particles of dust composing the earth I pay reverence to all the Buddhas, imagining in mind to be in the presence of all the Buddhas, by virtue of Bhadra's Life-of-vows.

3. Buddhas as numerous as particles of dust are sitting surrounded by the Bodhisattvas, even at the end of a particle of dust; thus I believe all the universe without exception is filled with the Buddhas.

4. And of them, with an ocean of voice in which all notes of sound are found, I praise all those Buddhas, by exalting all the virtues of these Buddhas, which are like the ocean of inexhaustible nature.

5. With the best flowers, wreaths, musical instruments, ointments, umbrellas, lamps, and incenses, I make offerings to the Buddhas.

6. With the best garments, scented wood, powdered incense in heap equal to the Meru, arrayed with all these excellent (offerings), most exquisitely I make offerings to the Buddhas.

7. This is, I believe, what is to be the best, munificent offering to the Buddhas; it is due to my faith in the life of Bhadra that I salute and make offerings to all the Buddhas.

8. And all the sins that may have been committed by me, due to my greed, anger, and folly, with my body, speech, and mind, I make full confession.

9. And what is the happiness of all beings, the Learners, the non-Learners, Pratyeka-Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and all the Buddhas, in the ten quarters,—for all that I feel sympathetic joy.

10. Those who being awakened in enlightenment are the light of the world in the ten quarters have attained non-attachment, all these I entreat to revolve the wheel that is unsurpassed.

11. Those who wish to manifest Nirvāṇa I entreat with

folded hands, to stay [in this world] for a number of Kalpas equal to particles of dust making up the earth, for the benefit and happiness of all beings.

12. Whatever goodness, accumulated by me accruing from the Salutation, Offering, Confession, Sympathetic Joy, Request, Solicitation, all this I dedicate towards enlightenment.

13. May all the Buddhas of the past be revered, and those residing now in the ten quarters of the world and those of the future—may they be at ease, be fulfilled in their aspirations, and awakened to enlightenment.

14. May all the lands in the ten quarters be pure, extensive, and filled with Buddhas who went under the king of the Bodhi tree and with Bodhisattvas.

15. May all beings in the ten quarters be always happy and healthy; the benefit of righteousness be possessed by all beings; let them be blissful, and their wishes be fulfilled.

16. While practising a life of enlightenment, wherever I may be born in the paths of existence, may I remember my previous lives; in all the forms of life I may be born and pass away, but may I always lead a mendicant's life.

17. Learning after all the Buddhas, perfecting the life of Bhadra, let me always practise a pure and spotless life of morality, without breakage, without leakage.

18. With the speeches of the gods, with the speeches of the Nāgas, with the speeches of Yakshas Kumbhāṇḍas, and mankind,—with all the speeches wherever there are speeches in the world, I will disclose the Dharma.

19. Let him who is disciplining himself in the exquisite Pāramitās, never be confused in mind as regards enlightenment; from those sins that are hindering let him be thoroughly freed.

20. Let me practise in the walks of life emancipation from karma, evil passions and from the way of Māyā; like the lotus that is not stained by water, like the sun and the moon that are not attached to the sky.

21. Extinguishing all pains in the evil paths, establishing all creatures in happiness, let me practise [the life of Bhadra] for the benefit of all creatures, as far as there are lands and paths in the ten quarters.

22. Conforming to the lives of all beings, perfecting the life of enlightenment, and holding up the life of Bhadra, let me discipline myself to the very end of time.

23. May I always be associated with those who would keep company with me in the life [of Bhadra]; let us all practise one life of vows with body, speech, and mind.

24. Those well-wishing friends who are witnesses of the life of Bhadra, with them may I always be associated, and may I never grow tired of them.

25. Let me always be personally in the presence of the Buddhas, leaders surrounded by the Bodhisattvas, and let me make them munificent offerings without growing weary to the end of time.

26. Holding up the true law of all the Buddhas, making the life of enlightenment shine out, and purifying the life of Bhadra, let me discipline myself to the end of time.

27. And transmigrating through all the paths of existence I have infinitely accumulated all merit and wisdom; let me be an inexhaustible store-house, filled with all the virtues such as Supreme Wisdom, Skilful Means, Mental Concentration, and Emancipation.

28. There are lands as numerous as particles of dust at the end of a particle of dust, and in each of these lands there is an inconceivable number of Buddhas, whom I see sitting in the midst of the Bodhisattvas, I disciplining myself in the life of enlightenment.

29. Thus, in all the quarters without exception, even to the hair-like passage through all the three divisions of time, there is an ocean of Buddhas, an ocean of lands, an ocean of Kalpas of [devotional] life: into all these may I, enter.

30. There is one voice containing an ocean of meaning,

a voice of purity uttered by all the Buddhas, which is the voice in accordance with the aspirations of all beings,—this is the eloquence of the Buddha, into which may I enter.

31. And revolving the wheel of the doctrine, and by the power of the understanding, may I enter into those inexhaustible sounds and languages of the Buddhas walking in the three divisions of time.

32. Entering into all future time may I enter in an instant; and into the three divisions of time measure, at an instant point of time, may I discipline myself.

33. May I see all the lions of mankind in the three divisions of time in an instant, and may I always enter into their realms with the power of emancipation which is like *Māyā*.

34. And may I manifest throughout the three divisions of time excellent lands in full array at the end of one particle of dust; thus may I enter into all the Buddha-lands in full array in the ten quarters without exception.

35. The world-lamps of the future when enlightened will revolve the wheel and show themselves in *Nirvāṇa* in absolute tranquillity: all those leaders may I approach.

36. By the power of the psychic faculties swiftly moving everywhere, by the power of the vehicle in every direction, by the power of deeds productive of all virtues, by the power of all-pervading good-will,

37. By the power of all-purifying merit, by the power of wisdom which is conducive to non-attachment, by the power of Transcendental Wisdom, Device, Mental Concentration; accumulating the power of enlightenment,

38. Purifying the power of Karma, crushing the power of passions, disarming the power of the evil one, may I perfect all the power of the life of *Bhadra*.

39. Purifying the ocean of lands, releasing the ocean of beings, reviewing the ocean of phenomena, plunging into the ocean of wisdom,

40. Purifying the ocean of deeds, fulfilling the ocean

of vows, worshipping the ocean of Buddhas, may I discipline myself untiringly in the ocean of Kalpa.

41. The excellent deeds and vows of enlightenment which belong to the Buddhas of the three divisions of time, all these without exception, may I fulfil, and awake in enlightenment for the sake of the life of Bhadra.

42. There is the eldest son of all the Buddhas, whose name is Samantabhadra; to those who walk the same path as this wise one may I dedicate all the good works [of mine].

43. Purity of body, speech, and mind, purity of life, and purity of land: such is the name of Bhadra, the wise one, with such as he I wish to be equal.

44. To be thoroughly pure in the life of Bhadra, may I discipline myself in the vows of Mañjuśrī, untiringly through all the future time I wish to fulfil all the deeds without exception.

45. Let me practise all the deeds that are beyond measure, let me practise all the virtues that are beyond measure; establishing myself in the deeds that are beyond measure, let me know all their miraculous powers.

46. Only when space-limits are reached, only when the end of beings is reached, with none left, not even with a single being unsaved, only when karma and passions are exhausted, then my vows would come to an end.

47. There are innumerable lands in the ten quarters which are adorned with jewels, may I give them to the Buddhas; all the excellent happiness that belongs to the gods and men may I give to [them] for Kalpas [as numerous as] particles of dust composing the earth.

48. Listening for once to this king of the turning-over of merit, faith will grow [in one's heart] who will seek after the supreme enlightenment, the merit thereby acquired will be the highest and most excellent of all merits.

49. One who practises the life and vows of Bhadra will be kept away from evil paths as well as from bad friends and will instantly see that Amitābha.

50. They will easily obtain whatever is profitable, they will live a worthy life, when they are born among human beings they will be welcomed; they will be like Samantabhadra himself before long.

51. When a man has committed by reason of his ignorance the five sins of immediate nature, let him recite this hymn called "the life of Bhadra", and have his sins instantly and completely extinguished.

52. He will be endowed with wisdom, beauty, and the auspicious marks, born in a [high] caste, in a [noble] family; he will not be crushed by a host of heretics and evil ones, will be revered in all the triple world.

53. He will immediately go under the Bodhi tree, king [of trees]. going there he will take his seat for the welfare of beings, he will be awakened in enlightenment, revolve the wheel [of Dharma], he will entirely crush evil ones with his army.

54. When a man holds, recites, preaches this life and vows of Bhadra, the Buddha knows what maturity he will attain, have no doubt as to [his attaining] the excellent enlightenment.

55. Mañjuśīrī the hero knows, so does Samantabhadra; following them in my study I apply all my good deeds [towards that end].

56. By the turning over of merit which is praised as best by the Buddhas of the past, present and future, I apply all my good deeds towards the attainment of the most excellent life of Bhadra.

57. At the time of my death, all the hindrances being cleared off, may I come in the presence of the Buddha Amitābha, and go to his land of bliss.

58. Having gone there, may all these excellent vows come up in my mind; and may I fulfil them without exception in order to benefit all beings to the full extent of the world.

59. May I be born in the assembly of the Buddhas pure

and delightful, and in a most beautiful lotus, and obtain there the declaration of my future destiny in the presence of the Buddha Amitābha.

60. Having obtained the declaration of my future destiny, I will, then, transforming myself in many hundreds of kotis of forms, benefit all beings in the ten quarters, in a most liberal manner, by the power of my wisdom.

61. By whatever goodness gathered by myself by reciting this life and vows of Bhadra, let all the pure vows of the world be fulfilled in a moment.

62. By the infinite and most excellent merit which is acquired by devoting one self to the life of Bhadra, let the whole world sinking in the flood of calamities go to the most excellent city of Amitābha.

HOKEI IDUMI

BHADRACARĪPRANIDHĀNA

यावत् केचि दशदिशि लोके सर्वत्रियध्वगता नरसिंहाः ।
 तानहु वन्दमि सर्वि अशेषान्कायतु वाच मनेन प्रसन्नः ॥१॥
 क्षेत्रजोपमकायप्रमाणैः सर्वजिनान करोमि प्रणामम् ।
 सर्वजिनाभिमुखेन मनेन भद्रचरीप्रणिधानबलेन ॥२॥
 एकरजाग्रि रजोपमबुद्धा बुद्धसुतान निषण्णकु मध्ये ।
 एवमशेषत धर्मतथातुं सर्वधिमुच्यमि पूर्णं जिनेभिः ॥३॥
 तेषु च अक्षयवर्णसमुद्रान् सर्वस्वराङ्गसमुद्ररुतेभिः ।
 सर्वजिनान गुणान्भणमानस्तान्सुगतान्स्तवमी अहु सर्वान् ॥४॥
 पुष्पवरेभि च माल्यवरेभिर्वाद्यविलेपनच्छत्रवरेभिः ।
 दीपवरेभि च धूपवरेभिः पूजन तेषु जिनान करोमि ॥५॥
 वस्त्रवरेभि च गन्धवरेभिश्चूर्णपुटेभि च मेरुसमेभिः ।
 सर्वविशिष्टवियूहवरेभिः पूजन तेषु जिनान करोमि ॥६॥
 या च अनुत्तर पूज उदारा तानधिमुच्यमि सर्वजिनानाम् ।
 भद्रचरोअधिमुक्तिबलेन वन्दमि पूजयमी जिनसर्वान् ॥७॥
 यच्च कृतं मयि पापु भवेय्या रागतु द्वेषतु मोहवशेन ।
 कायतु वाच मनेन तथैव तं प्रतिदेशयमी अहु सर्वम् ॥८॥
 यच्च दशदिशि पुण्य जगस्य शैक्षअशैक्षप्रत्येकजिनानाम् ।
 बुद्धसुतानथ सर्वजिनानां तं अनुमोदयमी अहु सर्वम् ॥९॥
 ये च दशदिशि लोकप्रदीपा बोधि विबुध्य असङ्गतप्राप्ताः ।
 तानहु सर्वि अध्येषमि नाथांश्चक्रु अनुत्तर वर्त्तनतायै ॥१०॥

ये ऽपि च निर्वृतिं दर्शितुकामास्तानभियाचमि प्राञ्जलिभूतः ।

क्षेत्रजोपमकल्पं स्थिहन्तु सर्वजगस्य हिताय सुखाय ॥ ११ ॥

वन्दनपूजनदेशनताय मोदनध्येषणयाचनताय ।

यच्च शुभं मयि संचितं किञ्चिद्बोधयि नामयमी अहु सर्वम् ॥ १२ ॥

पूजितं भोन्तु अतीतकु बुद्धा ये च भ्रियन्ति दशदिशि लोके ।

ये च अनागत ते लघु भोन्तु पूर्णमनोरथ बोधिविबुद्धा ॥ १३ ॥

यावत् केचि दशदिशि क्षेत्रास्ते परिशुद्धं भवन्तु उदाराः ।

बोधिदुमेन्द्रगतेभि जिनेभिर्बुद्धसुतेभि च भोन्तु प्रपूर्णाः ॥ १४ ॥

यावत् केचि दशदिशि सत्त्वास्ते सुखिताः सद भोन्तु अरोगाः ।

सर्वजगस्य च धार्मिकु अर्थो भोन्तु प्रदक्षिणु ऋध्यतु आशा ॥ १५ ॥

बोधिचरिं च अहं चरमाणो भवि जातिस्मरु सर्वगतीषु ।

सर्वसु जन्मसु च्युत्युपपत्ती प्रव्रजितो अहु नित्यु भवेय्या ॥ १६ ॥

सर्वजिनाननुशिक्षयमाणो भद्रचरिं परिपूरयमाणः ।

शीलचरिं विमलां परिशुद्धां नित्यमखण्डमच्छिद्रं चरेयम् ॥ १७ ॥

देवहस्तेभि च नागहस्तेभिर्यक्षकुम्भाण्डमनुष्यहस्तेभिः ।

यानि च सर्वहस्तानि जगस्य सर्वहस्तेष्वहु देशयि धर्मम् ॥ १८ ॥

पेशलु पारमितास्वभियुक्तो बोधियि चित्तु म जातु विमुह्येत् ।

ये ऽपि च पापक आवरणीयास्तेषु परिशुद्धु भोतु अशेषम् ॥ १९ ॥

कर्मतु क्लेशतु मारपथातो लोकगतीषु विमुक्तु चरेयम् ।

पद्मं यथा सलिलेन अलिप्तः सूर्यं शशी गगनेव असक्तः ॥ २० ॥

सर्वि अपाय दुखां प्रशमन्तो सर्वजगत्स्थापयमानः ।

सर्वजगस्य हिताय चरेयं यावत् क्षेत्रपथा दिश तासु ॥ २१ ॥

सत्त्वचरिं अनुवर्तयमानो बोधिचरिं परिपूरयमाणः ।
 भद्रचरिं च प्रभावयमानः सर्वि अनागतकल्प चरेयम् ॥ २२ ॥
 ये च सभागत सम चर्याये तेभि समागमु नित्यु भवेय्या ।
 कायतु वाचतु चेतनतो वा एकचरि प्रणिधान चरेयम् ॥ २३ ॥
 ये ऽपि च मित्रा सम हितकामा भद्रचरीय निदर्शयितारः ।
 तेभि समागमु नित्यु भवेय्या तांश्च अहं न विरागयि जातु ॥ २४ ॥
 संमुख नित्यमहं जिन पश्ये बुद्धसुतेभि परीवृतु नाथान् ।
 तेषु च पूज करेय उदारं सर्वि अनागतकल्पमखिन्नः ॥ २५ ॥
 धारयमाणु जिनान सद्धर्म बोधिचरिं परिदीपयमानः ।
 भद्रचरिं च विशोधयमानः सर्वि अनागतकल्प चरेयम् ॥ २६ ॥
 सर्वभवेषु च संसरमाणः पुण्यतु ज्ञानतु अक्षयप्राप्तः ।
 प्रज्ञउपायसमाधिविमोक्षैः सर्वगुणैर्भवि अक्षयकोशः ॥ २७ ॥
 एकरजाग्रि रजोपमक्षेत्रा तत्र च क्षेत्रि अचिन्तिय बुद्धान् ।
 बुद्धसुतान निषण्णकु मध्ये पश्यिय बोधिचरिं चरमाणः ॥ २८ ॥
 एवमशेषत सर्वदिशासु वालपथेषु त्रियध्वप्रमाणान् ।
 बुद्धसमुद्र थ क्षेत्रसमुद्रानोतरि चारिककल्पसमुद्रान् ॥ २९ ॥
 एकस्वराङ्गसमुद्रहस्तेभिः सर्वजिनान स्वराङ्गविशुद्धिम् ।
 सर्वजगस्य यथाशयघोषान् बुद्धसरस्वतिमोतरि नित्यम् ॥ ३० ॥
 तेषु च अक्षयघोषहस्तेषु सर्वत्रियध्वगतान जिनानाम् ।
 चक्रनयं परिवर्तयमानो बुद्धिबलेन अहं प्रविशेयम् ॥ ३१ ॥
 एकक्षणेन अनागतसर्वान् कल्पप्रवेश अहं प्रविशेयम् ।
 ये ऽपि च कल्प त्रियध्वप्रमाणास्तान्क्षणकोटिप्रविष्ट चरेयम् ॥ ३२ ॥

ये च त्रियध्वगता नरसिंहांस्तानहु पश्यिय एकक्षणेन ।
 तेषु च गोचरिमोतरि नित्यं मायगतेन विमोक्षबलेन ॥३३॥
 ये च त्रियध्वसुक्षेत्रवियूहांस्तानभिनिर्हरि एकरजाये ।
 एवमशेषत सर्वदिशासु ओतरि क्षेत्र वियूह जिन्नानाम् ॥३४॥
 ये च अनागत लोकप्रदीपास्तेषु विबुध्यन चक्रप्रवृत्तिम् ।
 निर्वृतिदर्शननिष्ठप्रशान्तिं सर्वि अहं उपसंक्रमि नाथान् ॥३५॥
 ऋद्धिबलेन समन्तजवेन यानबलेन समन्तमुखेन ।
 चर्यबलेन समन्तगुणेन मैत्रबलेन समन्तगतेन ॥३६॥
 पुण्यबलेन समन्तशुभेन ज्ञानबलेन असङ्गगतेन ।
 प्रज्ञउपायसमाधिबलेन बोधिबलं समुदानयमानः ॥३७॥
 कर्मबलं परिशोधयमानः क्लेशबलं परिमर्दयमानः ।
 मारबलं अबलंकरमाणः पूरयि भद्रचरीबलसर्वान् ॥३८॥
 क्षेत्रसमुद्र विशोधयमानः सत्त्वसमुद्र विमोचयमानः ।
 धर्मसमुद्र विपश्ययमानो ज्ञानसमुद्र विगाहयमानः ॥३९॥
 चर्यसमुद्र विशोधयमानः प्रणिधिसमुद्र प्रपूरयमाणः ।
 बुद्धसमुद्र प्रपूजयमानः कल्पसमुद्र चरेयमखिलः ॥४०॥
 ये च त्रियध्वगतान जिन्नानां बोधिचरिप्रणिधानविशेषाः ।
 तानहु पूरय सर्वि अशेषान् भद्रचरीय विबुध्यिय बोधिम् ॥४१॥
 ज्येष्ठकु यः सुतु सर्वजिन्नानां यस्य च नाम समन्ततभद्रः ।
 तस्य विदुस्य सभागचरीये नामयमी कुशलं इमु सर्वम् ॥४२॥
 कायतु वाच मनस्य विशुद्धिश्चर्यविशुद्ध्य क्षेत्रविशुद्धिः ।
 यादृश नामन भद्र विदुस्य तादृश भोतु समं मम तेन ॥४३॥

भद्रचरीय समन्तशुभाये मञ्जुशिरी प्रणिधान चरेयम् ।
 सर्वि अनागत कल्पमखिन्नः पूरयि तां क्रिय सर्वि अशेषाम् ॥४४॥
 नो च प्रमाणु भवेय्य चरीये नो च प्रमाणु भवेय्य गुणानाम् ।
 अप्रमाण चरियाय स्थिहिता जानयि सर्वि विकुर्वितु तेषाम् ॥४५॥
 यावत निष्ठ नभस्य भवेय्या सच्च अशेषत निष्ठ तथैव ।
 कर्मतु क्लेशतु यावत निष्ठा तावत निष्ठ मम प्रणिधानम् ॥४६॥
 ये च दशदिशि क्षेत्र अनन्ता रत्न अलंकृतु दद्यु जिनानाम् ।
 दिव्य च मानुष सौख्यविशिष्टां क्षेत्ररजोपमकल्प ददेयम् ॥४७॥
 यश्च इमं परिणामनराजं श्रुत्व सकृज्जनयेदधिमुक्तिम् ।
 बोधि वरामनुप्रार्थयमानो अग्र्यु विशिष्ट भवेदिमु पुण्यम् ॥४८॥
 वर्जित तेन भवन्ति अपाया वर्जित तेन भवन्ति कुमित्राः ।
 क्षिप्रु स पश्यति तं अमिताभं यस्मिमु भद्रचरि प्रणिधानम् ॥४९॥
 लाभ सुलब्ध सुजीवितु तेषां स्वागत ते इमु मानुष जन्म ।
 यादृश सो हि समन्ततभद्रस्ते ऽपि तथा न चिरेण भवन्ति ॥५०॥
 पापक पञ्च अनन्तरियाणि येन अज्ञानवशेन कृतानि ।
 सो इमु भद्रचरिं भणमानः क्षिप्रु परिक्षयु भोति अशेषम् ॥५१॥
 ज्ञानतु रूपतु लक्षणतश्च वर्णतु गोचतु भोतिरुपेतः ।
 तीर्थिकमारगणेभिरधृष्यः पूजितु भोति स सर्वत्रिलोके ॥५२॥
 क्षिप्रु स गच्छति बोधिदुमेन्द्र गत्व निष्पीदति सच्चहिताय ।
 बुध्यति बोधि प्रवर्तयि चक्रं धर्षयि मारु ससैन्यकु सर्वम् ॥५३॥
 यो इमु भद्रचरिप्रणिधानं धारयि वाचयि देशयितो वा ।
 बुद्ध विजानति यो ऽत्र विपाको बोधि विशिष्ट म काङ्क्ष जनेय ॥५४॥

मञ्जुशिरी यथ जानति शूरः सो च समन्ततभद्र तथैव ।
 तेषु अहं अनुशिष्यमाणो नामयमी कुशलं इमु सर्वम् ॥ ५५ ॥
 सर्वत्रियध्वगतेभि जिनेभिर्या परिणामन वर्णित अग्रा ।
 तांश्च अहं कुशलं इमु सर्वं नामयमी वरभद्रचरीये ॥ ५६ ॥
 कालकृयां च अहं कारमाणो आवरणान्विनवर्तिय सर्वान् ।
 संमुख पश्यिय तं अमिताभं तं च सुखावतिक्षेत्रं व्रजेयम् ॥ ५७ ॥
 तत्र गतस्य इमि प्रणिधाना आमुखि सर्वि भवेय्यु समग्राः ।
 तांश्च अहं परिपूर्य अशेषान् सत्त्वहितं करि यावत् लोके ॥ ५८ ॥
 तहि जिनमण्डलि शोभनि रम्ये पद्मवरे रुचिरे उपपन्नः ।
 व्याकरणं अहु तत्र लभेय्या संमुखतो अमिताभजिनस्य ॥ ५९ ॥
 व्याकरणं प्रतिलभ्य च तस्मिन् निर्मितकोटिशतेभिरनेकैः ।
 सत्त्वहितानि बहून्यहु कुर्या दिक्षु दशस्वपि बुद्धिबलेन ॥ ६० ॥
 भद्रचरिप्रणिधान पठित्वा यत्कुशलं मयि संचितु किञ्चित् ।
 एकक्षणेन समृध्यतु सर्वं तेन जगस्य शुभं प्रणिधानम् ॥ ६१ ॥
 भद्रचरिं परिणाम्य यदाप्तं पुण्यमनन्तमतीव विशिष्टम् ।
 तेन जगद्भसनोघनिमग्नं यात्वमिताभपुरिं वरमेव ॥ ६२ ॥

THE TEMPLES OF KAMAKURA

III

ZEN AND KAMAKURA

Kamakura dates its real beginnings as a centre of religion, politics, and art to Minamoto Yoritomo, who in 1192 made the little fishing village the capital of the Shogunate. It was to Yoritomo's religious vein that we owe many of the temples in Kamakura, and it was he who gave an impetus to the development of architecture, sculpture, and painting, which was carried on by his successors, the Hojo regents under whom it culminated. At the time of its greatest prosperity Kamakura rivaled Kyoto in the arts and in religion but not in luxury.

The Zen sect in Japan, we may say, begins with the second return from China in 1191 of the Priest Eisai. He established himself first at the Kenninji in Kyoto and in 1201 at the Jufukuji in Kamakura whose first presiding priest he was, so that from that time on Zen came to be taught in Kamakura.

Zen is popularly called the contemplative sect because in its search for reality it counsels its followers to seek for the essence of mind in silent meditation. It claims to give the true teaching of the Buddha which is beyond verbal or literal description, indeed it abandons these as useless and strives for first-hand illumination. Its simplicity and directness appealed to the military spirits at the time of the Hojo Regency, and Zen with Kamakura, one of its chief centres, second only to Kyoto, attained a great vogue among the warriors of that time and this influence has continued down the centuries. To the Zen influence, we owe the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, the noble sculpture of the school of Unkei and the art of the Nangwa school. Zen and Japanese culture are closely interwoven. But it is Zen in Kama-

kura that interests us now, especially in connection with the temples which together with the natural beauties of hills and sea make the town even today attractive. The great earthquake of 1923 lay low many of the famous fanes but they have been restored, partly due to the interest of the Government and partly to the devotion of Buddhists. The restoration is often on a smaller scale, for today we cannot equal the pure architectural style of the past or the grandeur of the Unkei sculptures. But the Zen teaching and its traditions remain and Kamakura is still associated with Zen history and teaching.

Let us take an imaginary journey and visit these Zen temples in Kamakura and see if it will not reveal to us something of interest and perhaps of enlightenment.

Formerly, Kenchoji was the head and chief of Kamakura's five great monasteries. It was founded in 1251 by Tokiyori the fifth Hojo Regent who himself became a priest five years later and who invited over from China to become the first Abbot of Kencho, the celebrated priest Doryu or Daigaku-Zenshi, his posthumous name.

When we enter the gate we find some fine cryptomeria and juniper trees. Set in the midst of these are the main temples, the Butsuden and the Hatto. These were both destroyed in the earthquake but have been rebuilt. The object of worship was a large statue of Jizo and this has been preserved. In a Zen temple the object of worship is generally Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, but occasionally we find Jizo and Kwannon, and in the Meditation Hall Monju. The quality of mercy is specially considered in Buddhism and both Jizo and Kwannon are Bodhisattvas of mercy. Jizo was specially prominent in the Kamakura era. We find many fine statues of him and many interesting legends. Kenchoji alone has a number of attractive legends concerning him. Two of these legends are told by Lafcadio Hearn in his *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. I. "A Pilgrimage to Enoshima." But there is another one which is also

of interest and that is connected with a man named Saita. It is said that the site of this temple was once an execution ground and that this Saita was sentenced to be executed here. But when the executioner endeavoured to cut off the head of the man, his stroke failed and the sword broke in two. Every one connected with the execution was surprised and asked Saita if he could offer any explanation. Then Saita said that he was a special devotee of Jizo and always carried a small image of the Bodhisattva in his hair. His head was examined, the story was found to be true, and what was more a new mark upon his back was seen. Saita was pardoned for he was now considered to be innocent. The little image is still preserved among Kenchoji treasures. Jizo, the Bodhisattva of mercy, is the patron saint of children, travellers, and women. He is represented with a staff in one hand and a *tama* or jewel upon the outstretched palm of the other.

The Jizo statue of Kenchoji has a mandala composed of many small Jizos; they are called the Thousand Jizo and are said to have been carved by the priest Eshin. The garden of Kenchoji laid out in the pure Zen style was very picturesque; it was the first landscape garden made according to the Zen ideas but the earthquake all but destroyed it.

The first Lord Abbot of Kenchoji, Doryu, was a famous man. It is said that when he died and his body was burned *shari* of five different colours were discovered among his ashes. A *shari* is a small object something like a pearl mingled in the ashes of a sage. When the Buddha died a number of *shari* were found and these are preserved in many places. In Buddhist temples in Japan these can be seen set in gold or silver reliquaries. When the *shari* are not said to be those of the Buddha they are stated to be those of some holy priest. The large juniper trees near the main temple here are called *shari-ju*, trees of the *shari* from the incident of the finding the *shari* in the ashes of the Lord Abbot Doryu.

Behind the temple on the hill is the cave where he used to practise *zazen* (Zen meditation). Of course, at Kenchoji there is a meditation hall for the *zazen* discipline. The fine old one was destroyed by the earthquake but a small new one is now in its place. But the Kaisando, a very ancient building, the hall for the founder, where the statue of Doryu is enshrined was spared. Behind it on a small hill is the tomb of Doryu. Here in a beautiful solitude repose his ashes. A simple monument resting on a carved lotus covers them. Many of his relics are preserved at Kenchoji, his robes, rosaries, flute, and sutras copied by himself. Here, too, we can see his picture. There is an interesting story told of him that bears repeating. He had brought from China a metal mirror. After the death of the Abbot some one dreamed that the mirror contained a portrait of the Lord Abbot. But as this was known not to be true, Hojo Tokimune who had loved the Abbot very much was disinclined to believe it, but ordered an examination of the mirror. Then it was found to be clouded over and when polished it revealed a picture of Kwannon (the Bodhisattva of Mercy) whose manifestation Doryu was said to be. This mirror can still be seen. The story shows in what high esteem and regard Doryu was held by his contemporaries. It is to these great priests of the early days of Buddhism in Japan that Japanese Buddhism owes so much of its spirit which still is vital today.

Opposite Kenchoji is Ennoji or Arai-no-Emmado, the shrine of Unkei's famous and wonderful statue of Emma, the God of Death, so wonderfully described by Lafcadio Hearn. (See also "The Ruined Temples of Kamakura," I, in *Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. III, No. 2.)

Situated in a valley, back from the main road between Kenchoji and Engakuji is Meigetsuin. Now Meigetsuin is small and unimportant, but it is interesting on account of its association with Hojo Tokiyori, one of the most striking in personality of the Hojo regents. There are many roman-

tic stories told of him. He it was who as a mendicant priest wandered about the country in order to get in touch with the people. The Nō play, "Hachinoki," dramatises one of these incidents. He was devoted to Zen, and when he gave up public life, he entered the priesthood and retired to Saimyoji on the site of Meigetsuin. It is said that when he died, he was seated in his priest's robes practising *zazen*.

Later the temple Zenkoji was erected on this site and Meigetsuin was attached to it and under its jurisdiction. There are some treasures to be seen here. The famous statue of Uesugi Shigefusa, once exhibited in London, is now in the Ueno Museum, Tokyo, but there are others left in the possession of Meigetsuin including Tokiyori's own bust, said to have been carved by the first Abbot of Engakuji, of a material in which Tokiyori's own ashes had been mixed. And in connection with *shari*, there is one here which was carried by Yoshitsune the celebrated hero. In the grounds of Meigetsuin are buried the ashes of the wise Tokiyori. A simple tomb commemorates him whose body now lies in the peaceful spot to which he had retired in order to practise meditation for the attainment of enlightenment.

As we pass on the main road we come to Jochiji, a Zen temple, which boasts a fine statue of Jizo carved by Unkei, the master sculptor of the Kamakura era.

Further on lies Tokeiji, formerly a nunnery, popularly called in ancient days the divorce temple. It was founded by a relative of Yoritomo, the lady Mino-no Tsubone, and re-established in 1285 by the wife of Tokimune. Tokeiji offered a sanctuary to any woman who wished to leave her husband. Here she could stay for three years serving in the temple and quite unmolested; at the end of that time she could have a divorce. Later the three years were reduced to two. This privilege was enjoyed until the later days of the Tokugawa era. The wife of Tokimune was the first Abbess and the last died twenty-six years ago. The monastery then became the home of an eminent Buddhist priest, the cele-

brated Shaku Soyen, who was Abbot of both Kencho and Engaku temples. He had travelled widely and attended the Congress of Religions in Chicago in 1893, and was known all over the world as a great Buddhist teacher. He was one of the most popular and influential priests in Japan. All foreign scholars interested in the study of Buddhism visited him. Tokeiji was indeed a kind of Mecca in the Zen world. Count Hermann Keyserling writes of him in *The Travel Diary of a Philosopher*: "I visited him in his temple at Kamakura. I have never yet had such an impression of inwardness coupled with equal martial energy; this delicately built monk is thoroughly military in appearance. How he must have inspired the troops whom he accompanied through Manchuria. He is a philosopher who understands the spiritual meaning of the Zen doctrine to the full."

Shaku Soyen died in 1919 to the great sorrow of a very large circle of followers. He is buried in the wood back of Tokeiji. On a terrace reached by some steps are buried the former Abbesses, the tomb of the Imperial lady being specially enclosed. Behind them up against the hillside is the grave of Shaku Soyen. His tomb is a rock, shaded by a maple tree, and before it stands a statue of Amida. The heart of Mrs. Russell of San Francisco, a pupil of his, is buried in the garden. In his days there was a stream of guests coming and going at Tokeiji, but now the place is very quiet. There are high steps leading up to the terrace on which stands the temple entered by a walk bordered by the *hagi* (bush clover), which Rev. Shaku loved. When I go there it seems as if I could see him yet, alert, kindly, serene, in his yellow robe, walking in the garden or seated amidst his books or talking sympathetically with a guest. Tokeiji is lonely without him.

Now we are ready to enter the precincts of Engakuji, a short distance above Tokeiji. The Engakuji grounds are fourteen acres in extent. The earthquake of 1923 did disastrous damage to the ancient buildings of this historic

temple, but restoration and renovation have been carried on. Even without buildings the natural beauty of Engakuji is as perfect as before. The cryptomeria trees grow as tall and stately as ever. It is the number and beauty of these trees that help to give the impressive effect of quietude and serenity to this spot. The visitor enters the grove of cryptomeria trees and looks up at the great Sammon (gate) which stood firm during the earthquake. The former Butsuden, so graphically and beautifully described by Lafcadio Hearn, was razed by the earthquake and one of the old temple priests was killed in it. It has not been rebuilt. The splendid black Buddha with the amethyst eyes was entirely destroyed.

Engakuji was founded by Hojo Tokimune in 1282 and was and still is a stronghold of the Zen sect and a school for the study of Zen enlightenment.

Engakuji was built by Tokimune in the style of the Sung dynasty of China. He sent architects to China in order to study architecture and upon their return the buildings of Engakuji were constructed. Tokimune invited a Chinese priest to be the first Lord Abbot. He was the celebrated Sogen called after his death Bunko Kokushi the posthumous title given to him by the Emperor. As with Doryu there are many interesting legends told of Sogen.

The Hōjō or main hall was formerly a large and beautiful structure with a charming garden in the Zen style. Here was enshrined Miroku (Maitreya), the Buddha of the future. This building was completely destroyed in the earthquake but has been rebuilt in a smaller and modified style. Gone are the beautiful straw thatched roofs at Engakuji and tiled ones have taken their place, safer but less picturesque.

The buildings have little to boast of now; it is the fine cryptomeria grove that gives beauty and sanctity to Engakuji. But the great treasure of this temple, partially destroyed by the earthquake, the Shariden has been rebuilt by the government and it is listed as a national treasure.

It is a perfect model of the Sung style of Chinese architecture and the most ancient building in Kamakura. It was originally erected to make a shrine for the relic of the Buddha's tooth which had been brought from China through the efforts of the Shogun Sanetomo and installed at Engakuji in 1301. It is said to have miraculous power and is exhibited in its gold and crystal shrine once each year. There are numerous legends handed down as to its miraculous intervention. Prayers have been offered before it at the time of calamities such as earthquakes and floods and tempests as well as wars and famines. In a sutra it is written: "In this world of suffering my relics shall change to an emerald jewel for the sake of the poor and unfortunate, and I shall scatter the seven treasures upon all mankind. I will grant their prayers."

The Hall of the Founder back of the Shariden did not fall in the earthquake. This is the holiest place in Engakuji; it contains a statue of the founder. His tomb stands above on a little hill from which a view of all Engakuji can be obtained.

The Zendo or Hall of Meditation was destroyed but has been rebuilt. Here monks and often laymen come to study meditation under the Abbot. Engakuji's Zendo is one of the quietest of all meditation halls, it seems truly removed from the ordinary world, so silent, so simple is its environment. At certain times the sutra to Kwannon is intoned to the striking of a large bell near at hand but except for this all is silence.

Speaking of bells, the largest bell in Kamakura and one of the largest in Japan is in Engakuji. It is reached by a flight of steep stone steps. It measures 8 feet 6 inches in height and 4 feet 8 inches in circumference. Its tone is great and musical and can be heard at a distance.

Lafcadio Hearn again has described this bell and I cannot forbear quoting what he says of it. "Under a lofty open shed, with a tilted Chinese roof, the great bell is hung.

I should judge it to be fully nine feet high, and about five feet in diameter, with lips about eight inches thick. The shape of it is not like that of our bells, which broaden toward the lips; this has the same diameter through all its height, and it is covered with Buddhist texts cut into the smooth metal of it. It is rung by means of a heavy swinging beam, suspended from the roof by chains, and moved like a battering-ram. There are loops of palm-fibre rope attached to this beam to pull it by; and when you pull it hard enough, so as to give it a good swing, it strikes a moulding like a lotus-flower on the side of the bell. Thus it must have done many hundred times; for the square, flat end of it, though showing the grain of a very dense wood, has been battered into a convex disk with ragged protruding edges, like the surface of a long-used printer's mallet.

"A priest makes a sign to me to ring the bell. I first touch the great lips with my hand very lightly; and a musical murmur comes from them. Then I set the beam swinging strongly; and a sound deep as thunder, rich as the bass of a mighty organ,—a sound enormous, extraordinary, yet beautiful,—rolls over the hills and away. Then swiftly follows another and lesser and sweeter billowing of tone; then another, then an eddying of waves of echoes. Only once was it struck, the astounding bell; yet it continues to sob and moan for at least ten minutes!

"And the age of this bell is six hundred and fifty years."

Hearn also tells an interesting story of the bell.

"In the twelfth year of Bummei, this bell rang itself. And one who laughed on being told of the miracle, met with misfortune; and another, who believed, thereafter prospered, and obtained all his desires.

"Now, in that time there died in the village of Tama-nawa a sick man whose name was Ono-no-kimi; and Ono-no-kimi descended to the region of the dead, and went before the Judgment-Seat of Emma-O. And Emma, Judge of Souls,

said to him, "You come too soon! The measure of life allotted you in the Shaba-world has not yet been exhausted. Go back at once." But Ono-no-kimi pleaded, saying, "How may I go back, not knowing my way through the darkness?" And Emma answered him, "You can find your way back by listening to the sound of the bell of Engakuji, which is heard in the Nan-en-budai world, going south." And Ono-no-kami went south, and heard the bell, and found his way through the darkness, and revived in the Shada-world.

"Also in those days there appeared in many provinces a Buddhist priest of giant stature, whom none remembered to have seen before, and whose name no man knew, travelling through the land, and everywhere exhorting the people to pray before the bell of Engakuji. And it was at last discovered that the giant pilgrim was the holy bell itself, transformed by supernatural power into the form of a priest. And after these things have happened, many prayed before the bell, and obtained their wishes."

There are relics of Sogen, the first Lord Abbot, his rosaries, his robes, his writings but most precious of all, his portrait. He sits in a chair and two doves are with him, one at his feet and another on his sleeve. It is said when he was in China and received the summons of Sanetomo to repair to Kamakura, a dove pulled at his sleeve; and when he truly arrived in Kamakura and reached the shrine of Hachiman a flock of doves flew out to meet him. This pleased him and he asked that when his portrait was painted, doves might be painted with him. It is a pretty sentiment found in connection with a vigorous and wise priest like Sogen, for underneath his austerity and sternness which almost all Zen teachers have, was a vein of gentleness and sympathy also to be found in his successors in the Zen discipline.

Jufukuji ranking third among Kamakura's monasteries is the oldest Zen Temple in Kamakura, for Eisai, the introducer of the Zen school of Buddhism into Japan, was its

first priest. It was built on the site of an older temple built by Masako, the wife of Yoritomo, and that in turn had followed one which had been erected by one of Yoritomo's retainers in the life of Yoritomo himself. So associations connected with Jufukuji are very ancient. There are many fine old statues in the main hall, but the most interesting one is a Buddha apparently cast from bronze but really made of paper. The pieces of paper used had sutras written upon them by Masako and then they were moulded into a beautiful statue by a famous Chinese priest and sculptor Chinwakei.

The cemetery back of the temple is wide and beautiful. Here is the tomb of the intrepid Masako and of her ill-fated poetic son, Shogun Sanetomo. They both stand within caves, that of the lady Masako is covered with thick green moss. This graveyard is absolutely quiet, neither a sight nor a sound of man interrupts the stillness, truly it is a city of the dead.

Passing on the road beyond, we come to Eishoji, the deserted temple once belonging to Zen nuns. Now there is nothing but the tombs of the departed nuns and a large and beautiful statue of Jizo, the Bodhisattva who represents mercy and compassion.

Then there is the temple of Kaizo, a dependency of Kenchoji. Its popular name is Juroku-ido (16 Pools) for according to story the saint of Shingon, Kobo Daishi, made these sixteen pools and with the water performed many miracles in healing the sick. There is a red lacquer statue of him enshrined here. The chief Buddha of this temple is however Yakushi-Nyorai, the Buddha of healing, and among the many legends connected with Kaizoji is one about this Yakushi which will perhaps bear re-telling.

This is the story. Even during the life-time of the founder, a wailing cry like that of a child was heard behind the temple. When Genno went to investigate he found a little tomb from which a light was radiated and a perfume diffused. The Abbot recited a sutra and laid his robe upon

the tomb whereupon the wailing ceased. The next day the tomb was raised and there embedded in the earth, but fine and perfect was the carved head of Yakushi. Genno was deeply impressed by this incident and had a new statue of Yakushi made with this head enclosed within it. This statue is called the weeping Yakushi and every sixty years the body of the statue is open and the original head disclosed.

Jomyoji was founded by Ashikaga Yoshikane in 1188, once one of the five prominent temples of Kamakura, is now little more than a ruin; but it is interesting because of its associations with the Shogun Sanetomo and his mother the forceful Masako. The temple has been twice destroyed by fire and twice rebuilt, and now has little attraction beyond the picturesque site and a few treasures of olden times. Behind the temple is the cemetery in which can be found the tomb of the founder.

Hokokuji, another Zen temple, is practically now destroyed, the earthquake of 1923 completing what previous fires had almost accomplished. Formerly it was prosperous and had many treasures but now almost nothing remains of its past. It was founded six hundred years ago by Ashikaga Iyetoki. Its grounds are very beautiful and the tomb of the first high priest Tengan is sheltered among lofty cryptomeria trees.

Now we come to the last of the Kamakura Zen temples, Zuisenji. It was founded in 1327 by Ashikaga Motouji. The earthquake played much havoc with the buildings and there is little left but its lovely garden and its historical associations. The garden and its surroundings are filled with plum and maple trees; the azaleas give beauty in the spring. The view from above the temple is very fine. What gives a part of its interest to Zuisenji is its connection with Muso Kokushi who was one of the most striking personalities in Zen history. Kyoto temples have many memories of him, but Zuisenji has also, for he was its first presiding priest. There is a cave here where he practised *zazen*, but his tomb

is not here, for later he went to preside over Tenryūji in Kyoto and there his ashes were buried. This temple is also associated with the patriot Yoshida Shōin, for here he found shelter for a time.

We have now reviewed briefly the Zen temples of Kamakura. We know how strong the influence of Zen must have been to have been studied here for six hundred years. Zendo for the study of the Zen discipline are maintained at Engakuji and at Kenchoji, and these together with the institutions for the same purpose at Kyoto and other places keep up the life of Zen meditation in Japan.

What is the life of the Zendo? Readers of the editor's article "The Meditation Hall and the Ideals of the Monkish Discipline" in the *Eastern Buddhist* (Vol. II. Nos. 1 & 2) and later reprinted in the book, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, know about it. Briefly it is a life led in common by a number of monks with the meditation hall as the centre and with work and meditation for their activities. The work consists in taking care of everything connected with the Zendo including cultivation of the garden or farm and in begging. Meditation consists in sitting silently in the Zendo, attempting to arrive at a solution of the problem (*kōan*) which has been given by the teacher (*rōshi*).

Nor do only monks practise *zazen*. At certain times lay-people both men and women are permitted to join with the monks. In the summer vacation many university students are to be found practising Zen meditation; Engakuji is especially popular with them, and there are buildings especially designed for their use, one for men and another for women. Military men are often students of Zen. Besides getting permission to attend the meditation in the Zendo, the Rōshi has private pupils who practise *zazen* in the seclusion of their own homes or in quiet temple rooms.

The key to Zen meditation lies in this phrase, "There is something to be transmitted besides verbal teaching, which is independent of letters." What that something is medita-

tion will reveal, and we come to know the essence of mind and the reality of life.

We are interested in Zen today in connection with its association with Kamakura, its vitality made into visible art and remarkable men. Whether warrior, artist, or priest. Zen brought out a man's best powers into activity. And one of the fields for this activity, military, artistic, and religious was Kamakura, the city of temples, hills, and the sea.

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI

BUDDHA

Highest and best of all Earth's great and good,
Thou towerest over all with noble mien,
As far around that lofty height is seen,
Where lies the perfect path of Brotherhood.
There in thy priestine glory thou hast stood
From the dim hoary ages, still to guide
Men from a sorrowing world to goodness' side,
Bidding them tread upon the righteous road.
Like those high hills that skirt thy native land,
Others have fringed along the ethereal height,
And reared their crests to meet the eternal light,
Peak beyond peak, in solemn pomp they stand,
Nathless thy peerless crest, unchallenged, free,
In lonely grandeur, Time shall ever see.

H. W. B. Moreno

BOOK REVIEWS

THE VEDANTA AND MODERN THOUGHT, by W. S. Urquhart,
Oxford University Press.

Long ago Max Müller said at the Berlin Congress of Religions, "Vedic teachings may bring us very near to the earliest Christian philosophy, and help us to understand it as it was understood by the great teachers of Alexandria"; and it was a constant thought of Bishop Westcott, who devoted the greater part of a long life to the study of the Fourth Gospel, that we should not understand it in the West until India had made her contribution to its study. It was with such thoughts in mind that Dr. Urquhart, now Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta and Professor of Philosophy in Duff's great college, has made this study. It is the ninth in a series of books known as "The Religious Quest of India," which with two other series was printed some two decades ago by Dr. J. N. Farquhar, late professor of Comparative Religion at Manchester. After long residence in missionary India, Dr. Farquhar determined to make missionary literature respectable, and enlisted an able group of writers and the help of the Oxford University Press. The series has proved itself of great value to many besides missionaries, and will be found in any great library.

The present volume is a worthy successor to Dr. Farquhar's own outline of *The Religious Literature of India*, Macnicol's *Indian Theism*, and James Hope Moulton's *Treasure of the Magi*. It deals with the greatest and most typical of Indian systems of thought. India is incurably Vedantic. "As the ocean has only one taste, so there is only one reality"; this is the essence of the Upanishads: "As the ocean has only one taste, so my religion has only one essence, salvation from suffering," said the Buddha. These two systems, the one belonging to about the Eighth Century B.C. and the other to the Sixth Century, are the sources for the philosophy of Sankara, who lived in southern India in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries of our era.

"He asserts one reality, and only one, for there is no such thing as plurality or difference anywhere, and,

therefore, no beginning and no ending, nothing but that nearest experience which comes to each one of us, the consciousness of the self, intelligent just because it is conscious, but essentially universal rather than individual. . . . If we can negate the world we shall find that the world is well lost, for there is really no world, no individuality to lose, nothing but the all-pervading, eternal, infinite Reality, the fundamental, self-luminous Being." (Page 55.)

This clearly is a system related to Western idealism and especially to that of Fichte, who carries his idealism to the same lengths as Sankara, finding in the world only appearance and illusion. These affinities and others with the Hegelians and with Spinoza, Dr. Urquhart traces in a learned and yet readable way; and while it may seem as if the book were only for the student of philosophy, there is so much monism in the air, that writers untrained in this field are rather naively offering it to us in place of the old theocratic conception of the universe, so that this book cannot but be a useful tonic to all who feel that the personalist interpretation of things is no longer tenable.

Dr. Urquhart, anxious as he is to find in this typical Indian system the foundation-stone for an Indian Christianity, has made such a trenchant criticism of it that one wonders whether what is left is really to be reckoned with. For the Fourth Gospel, with its doctrine of the indwelling Logos, has already emphasised for all intelligent Christians the indwelling God, while emphasising still more strongly the Divine transcendence, and leaving therefore ample room for human freedom and initiative. In contrast with this invigorating Hebraic thought that of Vedantic India results, says Dr. Urquhart, in

"a dream-like attitude to life, along with that sense of futility which attaches to dreams and the consequent evaporation of ideals. The ethical life is thus robbed of the necessary energy for dealing with it, and because this life belongs essentially to the sphere of duality, we are required altogether to pass beyond it in reaching the goal of identity. The distinction between good and evil ceases to be the most urgent of contrasts, and presents itself not so much as a stimulus to effort as an opportunity for acquiescence." (Pages 213-214.)

While then we may agree that the Vedanta may be useful in calling the Christian back to the mystic sense of oneness with the universe, which is a need of some exceptionally constituted individuals, on the whole it is truer to the facts to believe that the normal waking consciousness is the channel for communion with the Divine, and that "flight from the world is flight from God, its Creator." These words of Rabindranath Tagore Dr. Urquhart quotes with approval, and he offers to India Christ as the Giver of Life abundant.

The critical scholar might urge that this admirable book would have done better to pay more attention to Ramanuja than to Sankara, for he, living three centuries later, seems to have come even more definitely under the influence of Christian thought. It is now well known that the Syrian Church was particularly strong in southern India, and Ramanuja, with his great emphasis upon devotional love to God, declared that he would rather see India embrace Hinduism than follow the rigorous monism of Sankara. His own system is therefore a modified form of this idealism, making room for the demands of the heart, whatever the head may say: man, being a person, required a personal God.

Many of us would indeed claim that the recognition of personal values is also better philosophy, for man can only think in anthropomorphic terms, and it is better to be fully anthropomorphic than partly so. Why think of the universe as pure thought, when we may also think of it as thought, will, and emotion? The Upanishads call it ultimate reality; *ānanda*, joy, as well as *chit*, consciousness, it is true; but however this may be, a very small number of Indian thinkers follow Ramanuja. The vast majority see in Sankara the fine flower of Indian philosophy and religious thought, who made the Vedanta the basis for every religious sect.

This book then is a very weighty yet readable one. In spite of misprints, it is worthy of the University Press from which it comes, and Indian readers will note with approval the increasing tendency amongst such writers as Dr. Urquhart to sit at the feet of Indian scholars. Of the books of which he has mostly availed himself, more than half are by Indian writers.

Kenneth Saunders

THE LAND OF THE LAMA, by David Macdonald, Lippincott.
\$ 5.00.

Mr. Macdonald was for sixteen years British Trade Agent in and on the borders of Tibet. He became a personal friend of the Dalai Lama, and was instrumental in getting him safely out of Tibet in 1909. His intimate knowledge of Tibetan, the Tibetan blood in his veins, and his sympathy with the people, are noted in a friendly foreword by the Earl of Ronaldshay, who has himself written a good book in this field. He commends Mr. Macdonald's studies to the anthropologists in particular and to the rest of us in general, as "a story of lively and absorbing interest."

I agree: for while there is necessarily repetition in the numerous books upon Tibet which are coming out in recent years, there is here a good deal that is fresh, some things that are very revealing, and some pictures that are repulsive. A book on Tibet should contain all these elements, for it is still a land of strange and picturesque customs, of mystery-plays, of Dances of the Dead, of weird animism and cruel asceticism, of Indian Buddhism overlaid with a tropic growth of local superstition. These things the author describes for us, devoting much space to the life of the monasteries, and to the figures of the Pantheon before he passes on to the life of the laity.

For them he does what Sir Charles Bell has already begun to do, that is, to give us a general yet colourful account of the life of the Tibetan—from the womb of his mother to the maw of the vulture. He does not hesitate to show us pictures of the dead bodies being prepared for this ghastly interment, nor to describe in detail disgusting medical practises and drugs; nor to spare the Tibetan frank statements as to his morals and manners. The Dalai Lama, whose picture makes the frontispiece of the book, has given his official blessing to it. Presumably he will not read all that is here written. To the rest of us it makes good reading, if one is not squeamish, and confirms our impression of the Tibetan as a strange blending of the artist and the barbarian.

How long a modern man could endure the life of a Tibetan household, without chimneys or sanitary arrangements, with little privacy and many lice, with tea containing as much rancid butter as it will absorb, with pariah dogs

everywhere and with a cook "clad in an indescribably filthy robe literally stiff with grease and blood," may be left to the imagination. But our author leaves nothing to the imagination; and his book is all the more valuable for this. Some of us will remember reading the naive and charming apologia for life in Tibet by a Tibetan woman, "We Tibetans." Here is the other side of the picture, and to all this is added certain valuable details of the dances and religious dramas which express, like the marvellous architecture of the Potala and the splendid temple paintings, the real soul of the artistry in Tibet.

It is a pity that so few writers, with the exception of Nicholas Roerich, seem to have made a real study of this great art, nor that of the copper- and silversmiths whose works reach us in abundance, but of whose methods and training we know so little. It would be too much to ask all this of our good friend the author, who as Trade Agent had other interests; and yet he has managed to make sympathetic and careful studies of many aspects of the life of the country. Some of his photographs, such as the Lamas dancing, or watching the dancing boys of the Dalai Lama, like swarms of bees hanging to a rock, are very striking; and there are some useful diagrams.

Here is a typical passage from this very readable and useful book (pages 151-154):

"Air burial is most common on the plateau where fuel for cremation is unobtainable. The cortege now consisting only of two priests and the body, with its carrier, slowly wends its way to the top of a hill, reserved for such rites, in the vicinity of the town or village in which the death has taken place. Here it is received by the *Ragyapa*, who lose no time in commencing their gruesome task of cutting up the dead.

"They first straighten out the corpse and lay it on the platform. Then they flay the flesh with knives from the bones and feed it to vultures. The bones are crushed and pounded to a paste, and thrown to dogs.

"As soon as possible after the removal of the body from the house, a ceremony of driving away the demon or evil spirit responsible for the death must be performed. First, a model of a tiger, fashioned from mud and straw, about a foot in length, with open jaws and fangs of barley-dough,

is prepared. It is painted with the tiger's stripes, and round its neck is placed a cord composed of five threads of the five sacred colours. Astride it is placed the image of a man, representing the man-eating devil, also fashioned from barley-dough, in which have been mixed filings from the five holy metals, and into whose belly has been introduced a strip of paper on which is inscribed the phrase, 'Devouring devil! Avaunt! Turn thy countenance towards the Enemy!' To lead the tiger another human figure with normal limbs but with a bird's head is made from clay, and into its hand is put the end of the cord encircling the tiger's neck. To drive the beast a similar figure with a monkey's head is placed at the rear. The whole model is set up on a plank for ease in carrying. All present now arm themselves for driving out the demons. They take swords, knives, agricultural implements, stones, and pebbles. When night has fallen the ceremony begins; the celebrating lama utters a long incantation while the assembled laymen cry out at the top of their voices, 'Begone! Devil, begone!' They brandish their weapons and hurl the stones at imaginary demons. At a signal given by the priest, a selected person, named by the astrologer, lifts the board on which are the images of the tiger and its attendants, carries it some distance from the house, setting it down at cross-roads. The lama mutters spells and charms and hurls heated pebbles in all directions. To prevent the evil spirit from entering other houses, a Tantric priest surrounds them with a magic circle of enchanted barley-flour across which the malignant spirits cannot pass.

"There still remains one last ritual to be observed. For this, on the day on which the corpse was removed from the house, the effigy of the deceased is drawn on a piece of paper, together with his name, on the back being a charm. Before this drawing, for the period between burial and the forty-ninth day after death, all food and drink that would have been offered to the dead person when alive, is placed. The drawing is replaced by a facsimile every day, the original being burned in the flame of a butter lamp. When the last paper is consumed the soul is free to wing its way to paradise. The ashes of the papers are mixed with clay and fashioned into small cones, which are deposited in caves or other out-of-the-way places, one being kept on the altar in the family

chapel. While the drawings are being consumed, the astrologer carefully watches the flames, and from their colour and from the smoke that arises he determines the fate of the soul. If the flame be white and brilliant, the soul is perfect and has reached the highest heaven; red and spreading like a lotus intimates it will attain to the Paradise of Perfect Bliss, while yellow and smoky declares the soul will reincarnate as one of the lower animals. Full instructions as to the ceremonies to be observed at the time of death, are given in the Tibetan 'Book of the Dead.' "

K. S.

THE GOSPEL FOR ASIA. By Kenneth Saunders, Litt. Dr. Published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, London, 1928.

Both Christian and Buddhist scholars have reason to be grateful for the books that come from the pen of Dr. Saunders, of the Pacific School of Religions, Berkeley, California. His years of residence in Ceylon, wide acquaintance with Pali scriptures, his understanding and sympathetic mind, and his gracious use of words, make him a particularly capable interpreter of Oriental religions to students of Comparative Religions.

In the present book he has taken for his study three great masterpieces of scripture, namely, the Bhagavad-gita, the Song of the Adorable Krishna of Vedantist India; the Lotus of the Perfect Law that is revered by all Mahayana Buddhists; and the Christian Fourth Gospel by Saint John. In successive chapters Dr. Saunders describes with painstaking care the historic personality of the founders of the three great religions involved, the times, environment and religious development, bringing out clearly the need in each case after the passing years had disclosed it, for a more philosophic interpretation and idealistic revelation inherent in but undisclosed until the appearance of these scriptures.

Then Dr. Saunders explains with admirable insight the three different and characteristic understandings of the Eternal Order: Brahman, Dharmakaya, and Logos. Then follow analyses of the scriptures themselves, an indication of their distinctive ethical ideals and moral goals, their doctrinal teachings, and, finally, a plea for the Christian Gospel as being most excellent in fact and most promising for the

future life of Asia. The book closes with an admirable selection of illustrative readings, and an unusually exhaustive index.

By far the best of the book are the middle chapters that deal with the technical questions, these are handled with painstaking and discriminative scholarship. The same can not be said of the opening and closing chapters which are well over the border of propaganda. Especially is this true of the chapter on the personality of the human beings who by these scriptures are idealised and deified. In the case of Krishna and Gautama Dr. Saunders is scholarly and dispassionate, but in the case of Jesus, his loyalty leads him into prejudice. He presents Krishna as a shadowy form, of princely rank, a soldier-scholar, with soldierly ideals, who asserted a pure monotheism in the face of the gross polytheism of Vedantist India. He is remembered more for his amorous nature than for his exact teachings, and, perhaps for that reason, passed the more easily into the hearts of subsequent India, as "the Adorable Lord."

Concerning Gautama, after referring to his renunciation of princely rank and ascetic practices, he writes: "We see him, genial but stately, at once the center of his brotherhood and their authoritative lord, and it is his personal magnetism which often explains the conversion of some opponent, after a few words with him. In hardship and success his band of followers remain with him, and his presence is at once their inspiration and their solace. That his main purpose was to gather a band of celibates and to train them to preach the Dharma, is clear." "His chief aim was to give men a technique of salvation, but he sought also to make religion simple, moral, and universal, and to this aim the Lotus Scripture is true in spirit, if not in letter. It sets forth the great teacher of compassion as himself the Divine Compassion, and reveals the glad news that Love is the meaning of the world, and that by responding to divine love men may become free."

But concerning Jesus, while admitting that the Synoptics picture him somewhat differently, he accepts John's estimate in general and writes: "We think of Jesus as perfect in his humanity and therefore perfectly divine." Dr. Saunders repeatedly runs together the Synoptic picture of the historic Jesus and John's picture and leaves the final

impression that the Idealised Christ of the Fourth Gospel is substantially the same as the historic Jesus, and on that ground rests the claim that Jesus is in a unique and true sense: "the Son of God." Dr. Saunders quotes approvingly: "Here is the Truth, the Unique Son and express image of the Father."

In the closing chapter, Dr. Saunders again passes into propaganda. Concerning Hinduism he writes: "The cult of Krishna is idolatrous in the extreme, and the Krishna of the Gita has not had moral personality enough to resist fusion with the lascivious Krishna of the Puranas, or to subdue the teeming gods and demons of popular Hinduism." Then he writes derogatorily of modern and popular Buddhism. But of modern Christianity he forgets and ignores its shortcomings and irrationalities, and presents only the best. He writes: "The Jesus of history is the differentia of the Christian religion. He is His religion." "May we not say that the Logos dwelt in Him so fully that humanity and Godhead were one, and that we know what God is like because of this perfect Son of Man, in whom was no darkness at all."

Buddhist scholars with their clear insight see that no good is accomplished by emphasising characteristic differences of religions. They recognise that Truth lies in the opposite direction, namely, toward the perceiving and harmonising and identifying of likenesses and similarities. They recognise that particularising differentiations lie on a lower plane than universals, and they by meditation and concentration seek that higher plane where all differences are merged and lost in the harmony of "the One." There the likenesses of ideals in the Bhagavad-gita, the Lotus, and the Fourth Gospel take on a single and convincing beauty, a beauty that Asia will welcome.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE BUDDHA, by George Grimm. Published by W. Drugulin, Leipzig.

When one recalls that the very first facts about the great Buddhist religion trickled into Europe not much over seventy-five years ago, and that for fifty years thereafter exact information was very meager and unsympathetic, translations of sutras were often poor and misleading, then we are little

surprised at the slight impress Buddhism has made on European culture and interest. But one is further impressed by the rapidity and extent with which the Buddha's Dharma has spread during the last twenty-five years. Many, in fact all of the most important Sutras have been carefully translated and collated, technical meanings traced out, and, in general, European scholars have arrived at a common agreement as to general tenets of this great Religion.

Among the many books in European languages bearing on this general subject that have appeared during the past ten years, perhaps none has been received with wider appreciation than has this book of Dr. Grimm. It must be said, however, that this acceptance has been more general in Europe among Christian scholars than in Asia among Buddhist scholars. The reason for this will appear as this review develops.

In general, Dr. Grimm has proceeded under the conviction that modern Buddhism with all its wide spreading development of doctrine, philosophy and metaphysic, has left behind the simple and true doctrine of the Buddha. He asserts that Gautama had only one theme in mind, namely, "suffering and the extinction of suffering." He asserts that Gautama defended this theme with the most severe logic and scientific precision. And in presenting and urging his Way of Life as the only solution, he warned his hearers and disciples that they must not look to him or to any one else as an authority, but were themselves to consider the rationality of the proposal and were themselves to try the method prescribed, and if the results followed as he predicted, namely, enlightenment, release from bondage to life's illusions, and final peace of mind, then they would convince themselves of the final extinction of suffering in Nirvana.

Following this very limited and clear conviction, Dr. Grimm proceeds to prove his thesis in four long sections and an appendix in a book of 532 pages plus XXIV pages of Preface. The Section headings are the Four Most Excellent Truths: 1. Of Suffering, 2. Of the Arising of Suffering, 3. Of the Annihilation of Suffering, 4. Of the Path Leading to the Annihilation of Suffering. Each section is developed with extreme care and logic and is buttressed by his own translations of extended selections of Gautama's own words, or the words of his more prominent contemporaneous asso-

ciates. The Fourth Section on the Noble Eightfold Path is particularly good. He enters so sympathetically and understandingly into the deepest and highest spirit of the Buddha's teaching that it sweeps the reader along to the Buddha's own conclusion and conviction. And the name that the Buddha chose for himself, The Tathagata, He-who-has-thus-attained, becomes a winsome possibility for every one, if they too shall follow the Path to the end.

Usually in books about the Buddha's teachings the Seventh and Eighth Steps of the Noble Path are passed over quickly, they seem so simple on their face, only meditation and concentration of spirit, but Dr. Grimm is able to reveal a deeper wealth of meaning and significance and possibilities and values, in a most enthralling degree. After reading the book one is convinced and persuaded of the rationality and feasibility and promise of this authentic Doctrine of the Buddha. One feels within him the stirring of a new strength and freedom, and the dissatisfactions and sufferings of life have lost already some of their burden and discouragement.

Most modern European books about the Buddha's teachings give one the impression that the authors "have only learnt the doctrine so as to be able to give discourses and express opinions about it." "This age of science no longer wants to believe but to know." This book gives one an entirely different impression, it persuades one to the adventure itself.

In the beginning of this review it was said that Dr. Grimm's book was not entirely satisfactory to Buddhist scholars. The reason for this appears to be that most if not all Buddhist scholars, whether of Hinayana or Mahayana schools, have passed beyond the belief that the Four Aryan Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path comprise the sole authentic teaching of the Buddha. They believe that in the simplest and most primitive discourses there lie half-hidden suggestions and depths of wisdom which time alone will reveal. These fuller teachings have been discerned and elucidated by the Great Teachers since Gautama's day, but in their germ they are just as much the authentic teaching of the Master as were the ones singled out by Dr. Grimm. But Dr. Grimm does not necessarily contradict this. On page 14 he writes: "Certainly his knowledge was not restricted to these Four Excellent Truths; his mind had

penetrated the abysses of existence in other directions also, more deeply than any other mortal; but with deliberate intention he communicated nothing of it to mankind, but exclusively limited himself to these Four Excellent Truths."

On page 15 he writes: "Accordingly the Buddha does not teach any system of philosophy. . . . Concerning the world itself, its origin, its duration, its laws, he is indifferent, since any such predictions and statements are ultimately without any practical purpose for mankind. . . . with which to dabble only leads to perplexity." On page 22: "The Buddha thus wishes to bring about the individual's own perception of truth." Page 27: "Precisely this exclusive limitation of all his strivings to this one point, how to escape suffering, led him at last to his goal. And so he made this point the foundation of his unique way to salvation, which may be briefly characterised as coming to a direct envisagement growing more and more deep, an ever purer contemplation of suffering, regarded according to its compassing bonds, its causes and its relation to ourselves. This contemplation constitutes the goal of all insight and the source of all wisdom."

No one doubts that in the forty years of the Master's companionship with such excellent minds as Sariputta, Moggallana and Kassapa, he discussed these deeper speculations, but the point that Dr. Grimm makes is that they did not form part of his determination upon teaching.

Is it not a healthy sign on this present age, given over as it is to materialism, erudition and learning 'about' things, for a modern scholar to again focus attention on this exclusive Doctrine of the Buddha? This George Grimm has done.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF BUDDHISM, and a Buddhist Pilgrimage.

By James Bissett Pratt. New York, Macmillan.

The author states that he wanted to get a synthetic view of Buddhism, to grasp it as a whole, and also to discover the actual conditions of the religion as it is believed and lived today. The book was written with this in view, and is naturally a large and comprehensive work beginning with the life of the Buddha and giving the outline of Buddhist thought in the Hinayana as found in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, and Cambodia.

It is with Chapter 11 that the book is most interesting to us Eastern Buddhists. This chapter tells of the rise of the Mahayana, of the change in the conception of Buddhism which developed into the Mahayana view of many aspects of the Dharmakaya, of the conception of vicarious suffering, of the transference of merit which shows the greatness of the Bodhisattva ideal, and the emphasis upon the new ideal of devotion which marks the beginning of the Amida sects.

In Chapter 12, the author proceeds with the philosophy of the Mahayana, the rise of the Madhyamika school and of the Yogacara, and still further develops the life of the ideal Bodhisattva, which is the very crux and key of Mahayana. Professor Pratt goes on in the next chapter to the explanation of the eternal Buddha and Nirvana according to the Mahayana.

Chapters 14-20 traces the development of Buddhism in China, relates its history, describes its temples, monks, laymen, and the Buddhist revival, and then goes on to its decline. From Chinese Buddhism the author proceeds to Korean and then after this survey, he is ready to take up Japanese Buddhism.

In Chapter 23, Professor Pratt gives the story of Japanese Buddhism, which is a most concise and interesting study of the beginnings of Buddhism and the chief sects with their founders. From this he goes on to describe Buddhist temples and priests and tells about Buddhist life among laymen. He then reviews education and philanthropy among Buddhists. One criticism often made superficially of Buddhists is that they are not sufficiently engaged in charitable work, but we read here of the activities of the Y.M.B.A. and of Sunday Schools, and Professor Pratt observes that Buddhist women of Japan do their part in carrying on various sorts of evangelical and philanthropic work. In this chapter we also read of Buddhist missionary work and of the schools and colleges maintained by Buddhists and the scholarly output of literature and work for prisoners. Many say that the activity of Buddhists in philanthropic and social work is an imitation of Christianity, but as Professor Pratt observes it is a renewal rather than an imitation, for philanthropic activity has always characterised Japanese Buddhism since the time of Prince Shotoku.

The distribution of medicine, famine relief, founding of orphanages, and homes for the aged, and even the care of animals has been known and practised since ancient times. The Buddhist temples did much for earthquake relief. While Buddhist educational and philanthropic movements have been stimulated by the example of Christianity, Professor Pratt asserts that they had their roots in the earlier traditions of Japanese Buddhism and even reach back to the Bodhisattva ideal and the Buddha himself.

Chapter 29 is a thorough exposition of Buddhist thought in Japan not derived from books but from personal interviews with leading priests. Professor Pratt proceeds to make a special study of Zen and of the Amida sects.

His book ends with three interesting chapters: A Review of the Present Condition of Buddhism, Unity of Buddhism which was once printed in the *Eastern Buddhist*, and Buddhism and Christianity. We have nothing but praise for this splendid volume, and little to criticise.

The author makes the mistake of calling a Bosatsu (Sanskrit, Bodhisattva) a Busatsu. He has it confused perhaps with the Chinese Pusa, but Bosatsu is the correct term.

Professor Pratt's way of writing is extremely engaging. The book is both popular and scholarly—popular in its method of presentation and scholarly in its information. We highly recommend it to the student of Buddhism.

GODS OF NORTHERN BUDDHISM: their History, Iconography, and Progressive Evolution through the Northern Countries. By Alice Getty. With a General Introduction on Buddhism, translated from the French of J. Deniker. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Second Edition, 1928.

This is a noteworthy and splendid work now in its second and revised version. It is an explanation of the gods, or rather we should prefer to use the terms, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Northern Buddhism, that is, as found in China, Tibet, and Japan, but there are also many references to those saints found in Southern Buddhist countries. Nevertheless the Tibetan has given most material to the author both in regard to information concerning Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and also the illustrations are mostly Tibetan examples. The history of the Buddha and Bodhi-

sattva or worthy is given and a description of his images in a very thorough and painstaking manner.

To give an example under Amitabha, we have first his account as Amitabha, the Buddha of Infinite Light, then as Amitayus, Buddha of Infinite Light, then as Amitayus, Buddha of Eternal Life, as Omīto-Fo, the Chinese Buddha of Boundless Light, and as Amida Nyorai the Japanese Buddha of Infinite Life. In these studies his history in Tibet, in China, in Japan is given, and all his forms minutely described. The same is done with the other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

Interspersed with the text are many illustrations of Buddhist images which had been collected by Miss Getty's father, Henry H. Getty, and these explain the text and give it further understanding, making the whole book fascinating reading of the subject.

In such a broad field it is inevitable that some small inaccuracies should come up, for example, in regard to Maitreya, the author states that "in Japan he is seated with legs locked, his hands in dhyana mudra holding a vase." It is not a vase which he holds but a pagoda, and this pagoda is a symbol for Mahavairochana whose manifestation he is, and the pagoda represents the one where the mystic Shingon teaching was found by Nagarjuna. The author also makes the statement that in Japan Manjusri is seldom worshipped; but this is not the fact, for in almost all Zen temples Manjusri is found as a Bodhisattva for worship and almost invariably is the Bodhisattva revered in the Meditation Hall. Again, Sho-kwannon in Japan is not a youth but is looked upon as a beautiful woman, and Binzuru is hardly a form of Yakushi, but of the Arhat Pindola. In regard to serpent worship the author says that as Benten is a very popular divinity, it may be that the serpent has become identified with her as an object of adoration. The truth is that the serpent is the messenger or attendant of Benten just as the fox is the messenger of Inari but not Irani himself. But these are small matters in a work of great interest and the result of painstaking study. All students of Buddhist iconography are indebted to Miss Getty's fine work.

TRUTH AND TRADITION IN CHINESE BUDDHISM, A Story of Chinese Mahayana Buddhism. By Karl Ludwig Reichelt. Translated from the Norwegian by Katharina van Wagenen Bugge. The Commercial Press, Shanghai, China.

As the preface by Logan Herbert Roots of Hankow says, the author of this book has supplemented his long and intimate personal observations and studies of Buddhism in China by scholarly and exacting study of original Buddhist texts and the published works of other Western students in this field; but his chief claim on our gratitude is his illuminating appreciation of what is best and even of much which at first sight seems hopelessly superstitious and corrupt in this ancient and prolific faith. We find here illuminating interpretations of everyday matters, temples, idols, names, and phrases. In particular this book helps us to find a way through the tangled confusion which besets Buddhism by setting in relief the great ideas and heroisms which centre around the vows of Amida and the Bodhisattvas for the "salvation of all living beings." The basis for the book is the series of addresses which the author delivered by invitation in the Scandinavian universities during the spring of 1921. Reverend Mr. Reichelt finds great similarities between Mahayana Buddhism and Christianity. He asserts that Buddhism in the Far East is not the decadent religion as one sometimes hears, but that it has its deepest springs in the purest form of the higher Buddhism, that form which in so many ways reminds one of Christianity—the Pure Land school. Therefore, he feels that special attention should be devoted to this particular form of Mahayana. This the author proceeds to do by tracing the introduction of Buddhism into China and the inner development of Chinese Buddhism during the early centuries. He tells of the masses for the dead, of the Buddhist pantheon, Buddhist literature, monastic life, and pilgrimages, and describes very fully the Pure Land school. His last chapter on Present Day Buddhism in China is of especial interest.

"For those who study the religious history of the East with spiritual insight these figures of Buddha hewn out of the rock, speak a language of their own. In them we see a symbol of the profound impression made by Buddhism

upon the soul of the Chinese people. Deep, deep have the lines been chiselled—in thought, in viewpoint, in hope for the future, in resignation, in unutterable pain and grief, in deep longing after enlightenment and peace, in inexpressible sympathy with all that lives, and in a quiet and strong hope for the ‘salvation of all living.’ If one wishes to understand China, one must see it in the light of Buddhism.”

It is a pleasure to find a Christian missionary writing so sympathetically and understandingly of Mahayana Buddhism. We hope that Reverend Reichelt will write another book revealing more of Chinese Buddhism.

POEMS, by H. W. B. Moreno. Published by V. C. Batian, Calcutta.

A collection of poems on diverse subjects, patriotic love, friendship, domesticity, nature, and reflection. The poem which we naturally liked the best was the one entitled “Buddha” which we have given elsewhere. The one called “Mysticism” also quoted in these pages shows the Buddhist thought, and the longer poem “Thoughts from Vedanta” contains a number of ideas common to Buddhism well and tersely expressed. Many of these poems have appeared in leading journals, the *Calcutta Review*, *Century Review*, the *Statesman*, the *Englishman*, etc.

A Buddhist Year-Book (佛教年鑑) for which there has long been a great need has at last appeared under the editorship of Mr. Senkyo Tsuchiya. In this we can survey what the Buddhists in Japan are doing for education, charity, etc., and also who are the important personages in various fields of Buddhist activity and what are the principal historical temples which are scattered all over the country. It also contains various government regulations concerning Buddhist works, a list of the national treasures, the principal events of the year 1929, and a short general survey of the Buddhist world during the Meiji and the Taisho era. It will be interesting to mention that there are about eleven main sects of Japanese Buddhism, seven universities, fifteen colleges, about sixteen middle schools, over sixty girls’ schools, and more than twelve hundred organisations of

various character such as caring for the poor and the aged, free medical attendance, employment bureau, lodging, supplying food, protection of ex-prisoners, of refractory youth, nursing babies, etc.

Incidentally, we wish to note that these social activities shown by the Japanese Buddhists are an eloquent answer to the charge often brought on Buddhism as not at all active in social service work. Those who are not very well informed not only of the doctrinal side but of the practical side of Buddhism blame its followers severely for their not doing enough for the poor, etc. They will be convinced of their mistake when they go over the *Buddhist Year-book* for 1929 now before us.

But apart from this we maintain that religion has essentially nothing to do with these functions which properly belong to society itself. Society ought to see to it that there will be no poverty, no suffering from old age and lack of medical attendance, etc. It is a badly-organised society when there are many cases of suffering from human causes, possibly also from natural causes, as these show that science has not been encouraged enough to probe into ways of escape from the so-called inevitable beyond-human disasters. If war were stopped between nations, all the money recklessly spent for murderous purposes could be diverted into scientific investigations and social improvement works. When society is perfectly organised all religious institutions are a luxury and have no reason for existence. Religion will then go back to its original mission, that is, to establish a harmonious relation between the individual and his surroundings—the latter in its broadest possible sense. No private charity will be practised in such a society—private charity that encourages a spirit of dependence in the receiver and fosters the feeling of superiority and self-importance in the giver. Buddhism, therefore, teaches that real charity is practised when the donor has no thought of giving and the receiver no thought of receiving. What we can do in the present stage of social development, is first of all to stop war of any sort, to do away with all luxurious enjoyments, and to put down all improper profiteering, and then to turn the money thus saved into social work of every description so that there will be no poverty, no ill-health, no suffering of any kind, no egotism, no greed, no anger, no ignorance. Let

Buddhists endeavour by all means to remove the causes of social maladjustment. To do this, education in all forms is absolutely necessary, and especially the cultivation of selflessness and of the virtue of emptiness.

The following books have been received and will be reviewed in any early number: *Wisdom of the Prophets*, by Khaja Khan. Hogarth Press, Madras—*Christos*, the Religion of the Future, by William Kingland. John M. Watkins, London—*The Real H. P. Blavatsky*, by William Kingsland. John M. Watkins, London.—*The Spirit of Buddhism*, by Sir Hari Singh Gour. Luzac and Co., London—*Gotama the Man*, by Mrs. Rhys Davids, Luzac and Co., London—*The Vision of Kwannon Sama*, by B. L. Broughton. Luzac and Co., London—*The Tannisho*, translated by Tosui Imadate, The Eastern Buddhist Society, Kyoto—*Buddhism*, by Kenneth Saunders, Earnest Benn, London—*Comparative Studies in Vedantism*, by Mehandranath Sircar. Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press—*The Saundarananda of Āśvaghoṣa*, edited by E. H. Johnston. Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press for the University of the Panjab, Lahore—*The Odyssey of the Tooth Relic*, by H. S. DeZylva, Colombo—*The Path of Perfection*, by Swami Ramakrishnanda. Mylapore, Madras—*Bodhidharma*, the Message of the Buddha, by T. L. Vaswami. Genesh and Co., Madras—*A Religion for Modern Youth*, by Christmas Humphreys. Anglo-America Publications, London—*Buddhism Applied and Selected Buddhist Scriptures*. The Buddhist Lodge, London—*La Sagesse du Bouddha et la Science du Bonheur*, by Dr. Edmond Isnard. Les Editions de la Revue Extreme Asie, Saigon.

PERIODICALS

Mr. Dwight Goddard, of Thetford, Vermont, is publishing a little magazine of sixteen pages called *Zen*, Buddha's Golden Path to Self Realisation. Mr. Goddard spent some time in Japan recently and he is deeply interested in the

philosophy and practice of Zen, and he wishes to share his knowledge with others, hence the little magazine. He states that the object in mind in issuing the magazine is to disseminate the truth that he thinks will help the American people to more restraint, more wisdom, more goodwill, and more contentment. We wish all success to his venture.

The January, 1930, number of *Buddhism in England* is No. 7 of Vol. IV, and it is the organ of the Buddhist Lodge of London, which holds bi-weekly meetings at 121 St. George's Road, Westminster. We always welcome the orange-coloured magazine with intense eagerness to know what the Buddhists in England are doing and thinking. In this number we find an interesting lecture by His Eminence, Tai-hsu, on "Is the Universe Progressing or Retrogressing?" This is the concluding lecture on Buddhism in the light of modern thought. The Bhikkhu Silacara writes on "Buddhism in Daily Life," the daily life being that of the people of Burma. Miss Ada Willis writes on "The Third Precept." Mr. Christmas Humphreys, president of the Lodge and sub-editor of the magazine has a short play, "The Point of View." Then follows a continuance of the Buddhist glossary, a valuable contribution to the Buddhist student. There is an account of the Students' Buddhist Association. In each number are book-reviews, correspondence, and shorter articles making up a most instructive magazine. We recommend it to all earnest Buddhist students. Recent numbers during 1929 have been quite as vital and informing as the present number. The February number is equally good: Mr. Humphreys has a long and illuminating lecture on Buddhism applied. What is especially interesting in this number is the letter written to the editor by Mr. C. T. Strauss in which he complains that *Buddhism in England* is gradually drifting into Mahayana, that although it began as a strictly Hinayana organ it has now become in reality a Mahayana one, and he deplores this and asks the question: "Is *Buddhism in England* right in propagating Mahayana, or a mixture of Hinayana and Mahayana?" The Editorial Committee say in reply that the Buddhism promulgated in *Buddhism in England* "is of no one school but of all, as we look upon the schools as complementary aspects of a common

central truth," and assert that they have never been "strictly Hinayana, nor shall they become entirely Mahayana, but as the West has hitherto had to form its opinion of Buddhism almost exclusively from Thera-vada sources, they think it will be of interest to readers to learn more of the Buddhism of China and Japan." This is extremely arresting and in the next issue of *The Eastern Buddhist* the editors propose to discuss the question as to whether Buddhism in England or any other magazine in the West is right in propagating Mahayana. Rather we will say the editors of *The Eastern Buddhist* are convinced that it is right and will give their reasons for their belief.

The January number of the *Maha-Bodhi* has a number of interesting articles by leading writers on Buddhism such as J. T. McKechnie, Bhikkhu Silacara, Mr. A. C. March, Editor of *Buddhism in England*, Herr Martin Steinke, Bhikkhu Paanasara, and Pandit Sheo Narain. We are glad to read in this Magazine that the group of American Buddhists in New York City are planning to issue a new journal to be called *The American Buddhist*.

The Shrine of Wisdom contains its studies in the Oriental wisdom. The winter number has an article on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana. The editors of this magazine are taking an interest in Mahayana Buddhism and sharing their knowledge of it with others. The greater part of the rest of the number is taken up with two articles: one on Neoplatonism in the Persian mystical poets and the other with an introduction to and comments on Thomas Taylor's dissertation on the Platonic theory of ideas. Readers of *The Eastern Buddhist* will surely find not only these articles but something in every number of the Shrine to serve for reflection.

The Occult Review for January has an editorial on spiritual magic in India. Its departments of Correspondence, Periodical Literature, and Book-reviews and Notes are always of interest.

The British Buddhist for January has two fine articles, Chovi or Cosmos by J. f. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), and Ahimsa by Mr. A. H. Perkins. This article on Ahimsa receives special appreciation by the editors of this magazine. However one may feel about the killing of animals for food or clothing it seems to us specially barbaric and uncivilised to kill them for sport and adornment. Mr. Perkins speaks of the throwing away of unwanted dogs, once pets but now destined to the lethal box. But here in Japan there is no lethal box and the poor strays are cruelly clubbed to death by fiends clad in human guise. Sad for the helpless dogs and sad for these miserable men so ignorant that they are willing to earn their livelihood in this way, for the dogs' flesh and skins are commercially used. When will the world learn to be compassionate as the Buddha taught? When will justice be meted out to the long suffering animals? Mr. Perkins insists that it is the bounden duty of every Buddhist to face the appalling apathy and callousness to animal suffering and to do everything humanly possible to bring about a higher outlook.

We have seen two numbers of *Calamus*, the quarterly journal of the Order of the Great Companions, edited by Will Hayes, published by the Order of the Great Companions, Dublin. This Order aims at linking together those who are working for world brotherhood along spiritual lines, that is, by preparing the way for a world religion. The articles in the magazine are written with this ideal in view, and as the study of comparative religion is necessary towards this end, there are many articles on the subject and selections from the works of the great religions. We have read the magazine with sympathetic understanding.

The Seer is a monthly review of astrosophy, astrology, and of the psychic and occult sciences. It is edited by Dr. Francis Rolt-Wheeler, and published in Carthage, Tunisie. The magazine is chiefly devoted to astrology and seems to be a most thoroughgoing and interesting vehicle of its department of thought. There are however other articles besides astrological which will be of service to the student of occultism.

NOTES

The following circular has been recently issued :

THE BURNETT ANIMAL MERCY SHELTER

About fifteen years ago, an American lady living in Tokyo, spending much time at Kamakura, began to keep at her little house there the many cast-away dogs and cats which she and her housekeeper were in the habit of picking up in the streets and on the roadsides. She noticed with dismay the general practice of throwing away unwanted puppies and kittens, and it grieved her to see the sufferings of these little ones.

Gradually, the number of the animal children grew and the small house became a dog and cat shelter. During all these years this lady supported the shelter out of her college salary. As time went on, this support became too much of a strain for her, and she wondered if there were not others of a like mind as hers who would be willing to share the expense with her. Moreover, the shelter had outgrown the little house and new quarters were needed. In her keen desire to put the shelter upon a firmer basis, she appealed to the well-known worker in humane lines, Mrs. Charles Burnett, of the American Embassy. Her appeal was not in vain, for Mrs. Burnett responded with a loving heart. Through her efforts the little shelter became a large one. Land was secured, and a house, kennels, and yard erected. The shelter has been named for Mrs. Burnett and is called "The Burnett Animal Mercy Shelter." All who were interested in the work were thankful.

Now a new problem has arisen. The land and the buildings have been given and the stray dogs and cats installed, but a fund for maintenance is lacking. At present, there is no endowment, a few subscribers help, a few donations are given, but these cannot keep the home going. Money is needed for a helper, for food, for printing circulars, and so on. Will not those who feel that even the animals are a part of God's thought* and also those who have some pet dog or cat or who have had a beloved one in the past

* This was written for general circulation. Buddhists may substitute manifestation of the Dharmakaya.

help in this work of carrying on the home for these less fortunate ones?

The Shelter is situated at Kita Kamakura adjoining the temple of Engakuji. Visitors will be welcomed. Those persons who wish to send a stray dog or cat may do so by forwarding to Ofuna Station and paying the fare. While not necessary, it is urged that a monetary gift, large or small, be sent for the care of the animal. Such gifts will be welcomed and acknowledged. The desire is that enough people should promise annual subscriptions that the work may continue. The Shelter is self-supporting in that it is not connected with any society, so it must depend upon those who are in sympathy with its work. It is hard to refuse suffering and to send it unhelped away. If those to whom this appeal is made could see these half-starved creatures, they would not pass by on the other side. Will they not see with our eyes and hear with our ears or come and see with their own, but in either case promise an annual subscription, large or small, which will enable us to know how far we may venture in relief.

Persons wishing to give a good home to a dog or cat may apply to us. There is also a separate department for boarding dogs and cats. When people leave their homes and wish to leave their dogs or cats in a safe place and in good care, they may place their pets with us.

Those interested in the work of the Shelter once more ask you most earnestly to help those who cannot help themselves, that you may receive the opportunity of practising the quality of mercy and that you may be assured that in the giving of such gifts there is more for the givers than even for those who receive.

Donations will be acknowledged and a list of donors will be issued on a separate leaflet.

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI
KONO SEKIGUCHI

Kamakura, January 1930

This Shelter differs from others in that the principle of Ahimsa is practised. The dogs and cats are not killed. For this reason many workers in humane lines are not in sympathy with us, and therefore prefer to support organisations

which dispose of these animals by killing. The Buddha says in the *Mahavagga*, "Whoso belongs to the Order of the Buddha being a member thereof will avoid taking the life of any creature"; and in the *Dharmanika sutra* it says, "The adherent of the teaching does not kill or cause to be killed any living creature, neither does he approve of killing in others." This Shelter is organised according to this viewpoint, and all those who are in sympathy with us are asked to help us. We have found many Buddhists, both priests and laymen, of the same mind. Stray dogs in Japan are collected and killed in a most cruel manner, and every dog which has not a license, even if he is sitting upon his own door-step is regarded as a stray, and even the license is not always a protection.

The business of collecting or rather capturing these poor creatures is given over to the outcast class called "eta," and as their living depends upon the number of dogs they can catch they are ruthless in their methods. It is dangerous to keep a dog unless on a chain and taken out to walk accompanied. Dogs indeed in this Buddhist country are hunted animals. Not only do we propose to give a home to the strays but to issue and circulate literature both in Japanese and in English in regard to kindness to animals. The Japanese unkindness to animals comes from thoughtless ignorance rather than from real cruelty, and as Mr. Perkins says in his admirable article referred to elsewhere it is for us Buddhists to endeavour to assist in blotting out the "legacy of a barbaric past—the desire to kill forever."

It is on the eternal law of Ahimsa as Mr. Perkins states "of love and compassion to all beings that the Buddha based his teaching and it matters not what the religion of a man or a nation may be, they must eventually come back to those basic truths which the great Tathagata expounded twenty-five centuries ago. The Buddha with the supreme insight of perfect illumination, saw clearly that man, if he is to exist at all as a social being, must remember in his every act the great law of Karma."

Religious themes as the subjects of moving picture films seem to be popular these days. Last year the life of the great Buddhist reformer and saint, Nichiren, was

dramatised and later *Kezuna* telling the story of women's sacrificing their hair to make ropes for the re-building of the Higashi-Hongwanji Temple was made a film. Now we have the life story of Shinran Shonin called *Eternal Shinran* as a cinema film and at the leading Kyoto theatre the play *Shaka* (Śākyamuni) is being produced.

It is of interest to note that the practice of meditation is still a vital element in Japanese Buddhism. On the seventh floor of the Yusei Hospital in Tokyo a large Meditation Hall of Zen Buddhism was established for the patients and also for the doctors. The abbot of Myoshinji, one of the greatest Zen temples, is planning to build a Meditation Hall for the benefit of foreign (that is, Western) Buddhists who wish to come to Japan to practise meditation.

The death of Dr. Sensho Murakami, once the president of Ōtani University and a great Buddhist scholar who wrote many books on general Buddhism as well as on Shin to which he belonged, took place October 31, 1929.

We are pleased to note that a number of Buddhist associations are springing up in the West and in Japan for the benefit of Western people, that in Paris there is an association of Buddhists, and that by the efforts of Dr. Sylvain Lévi a Buddhist temple is to be built there. In New York several Buddhist centres have been opened. A number of Western people have recently come to Japan to study Buddhism and practise meditation.

Mrs. L. Adams Beck (E. Barrington), the famous novelist and a Buddhist, the author of *The Story of Oriental Philosophy*, is now living in Japan and receiving inspiration for her delightful books which deal sympathetically with Eastern thought.

A religious exhibition has been opened in Kyoto. It is being held specially to commemorate the patriarch of the Jodo school, Zendo (Shan-tao) Daishi. It has many interesting features, chiefly Buddhist, but there are also some ex-

hibits of early Christianity in Japan. Especially arresting are some life-sized portraits of the early Christian martyrs in Nagasaki. The Omotokyo the new Japanese religion has also a large stimulating exhibit. Its head Wanisaburo Deguchi is a man of great activities and talents, and a mystic, and said to be possessed of much psychic power. His paintings and drawings and the pottery executed by him, his books and letters are all shown and give a glimpse of a highly outstanding personality. The Omotokyo exhibit is in fact one of the most attractive parts of the religious exhibition. There are many old Buddhist paintings, especially ancient portraits of the great teacher, Zendo Daishi.

Dr. Daijo Tokiwa's great work on Chinese Buddhist monuments was brought to completion last year. It consists of five cases of large folios accompanied by books explaining the photographs and rubbings which were taken by the author under difficulties. Following them he has just published another work also of great importance for the student of Chinese Buddhism. It is called *A Study of the Buddhature (buddhatā)*. Those Western scholars who can read Japanese will no doubt find in this an enormous amount of erudition and a mine of valuable information.

Professor Junjiro Takakusu and Dr. Kaikyoku Watanabe are to be congratulated on their having successfully brought a gigantic undertaking to a finish. The undertaking consists in presenting a complete edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka in Chinese scientifically arranged and collated. It also contains some Chinese works excavated at Tun-huang. The editors are now publishing a supplementary collection of Buddhist literature which may be studied to best advantage in connection with the Tripitaka itself. Many rare works by ancient masters both Japanese and Chinese have thus become accessible.

What may be called a comparative analytical index to the Chinese Agamas and the Pali Nikayas has been prepared by Professor Chizen Akanuma of Otani Buddhist university. A part of it was once published in the *Eastern Buddhist*.

The Nippon Buddhist Research Association which was organised in 1928 by the Buddhist Colleges in Japan, had its first and second general meetings in 1928 and 1929. The Report for 1928 contains: "On the Four Classes of Followers of the Buddha," by Chizen Akanuma; "On the Abhisamayalamkara," by Unrai Wogiwara; "Some Characteristic Features of the Buddhism of Central Asia," by Ryotai Hadani; and "A Study of the Dṛiṣṭānta-paṅkti and its Author," by Shoson Miyamoto.

Dr. Ye-un Mayeda, ex-president of Ryūkoku University of Kyoto, died in April this year. He was reported ill for sometime owing to his advanced age. Though he belonged to Shin and was a great scholar of its philosophy, he was also renowned as an authority of Tendai philosophy. His chief works are: *Historical Development of Mahayana Buddhism*, *Outlines of the Tendai Teaching*, etc.

The sudden death of Professor Taiken Kimura, of the Tokyo Imperial university, took place while this magazine was in the press. The loss is greatly lamented because he was yet comparatively young and at the height of intellectual productivity. He was only fifty. *Philosophies of India*, *Early Buddhist Thoughts*, *Study of the Abhidharma*, etc. are among his best works.

Studies in the Lankāvatāra, by D. T. Suzuki, editor of *The Eastern Buddhist*, has recently appeared. The Sutra is one of the most important in the study of Mahayana Buddhism, especially of Zen Buddhism, for it was this which was handed over by Bodhidharma, the father of Zen in China, to his first disciple Hui-k'ê early in the sixth century. The present *Studies* analyses the contents of the Sutra giving a systematic presentation of them. It also contains a Sanskrit-Chinese-English glossary, which will be no doubt of much help to students of Chinese Buddhism.

EXCHANGES

We acknowledge with thanks the following magazines: *Buddhism in England*, London; *Mahabodhi*, Calcutta; *The British Buddhist*, London; *Buddhist India*, Calcutta; *Pra-buddha Bharata*, Mayavati, India; *Vedanta Kesari*, Madras; *Kalpaka*, Tinnevely, India; *Vedic Magazine*, Lahore; *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore City; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta; *Bulletin of Oriental Studies*, London; *Message of the East*, Boston, U.S.A.; *Yogoda*, Los Angeles; *Re-incarnation*, Chicago; *Extreme Asie*, Saigon; *Die Katholischen Missionene*, Aachen, Germany; *La Revue Spirite*, Paris; *Rays from the Rose Cross*, Oceaniside, California; *Journal of Religion*, Chicago; *Occult Review*, London; *The Quest*, London; *The Shrine of Wisdom*, London; *Epoch*, Ilfracombe, England; *Le Lotus Bleu*, Paris; *The Theosophical Path*, Point Loma, California; *Liberal Catholic*, London; *The Theosophical Quarterly*, New York; *Christliche Welt*, Gotha; *Logos*, Tubingen; *Journal Asiatique*, Paris; *Il Progresso Religioso*, Genova; *The Young East*, Tokyo; *The Vaitarani*, Digapadia, Arttack (Orissa), India; *The Meher Message*, Nasik, India.

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MYSTICISM

The Sufi enwrapped in his blanket of wool,
Proclaims as he utters: "Allah and Basul,"

"Oh, Thou in me

"As I in Thee—

"An endless, changeless Unity"

The Yogi of Ind, on the open grass mound,
Repeats, as Aum enters his soul with its sound:

"A Unity,

"But One in Three,

"Thus to attain to samadhi."

The Christian recluse from the depth of his cell
Cries, as he visions a heaven and a hell:

"Thou, I and He,

"One Trinity,

"Eternally! Eternally!"

H. W. B. Moreno

THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

An unsectarian magazine devoted to the study of Mahayana Buddhism

Published by The Eastern Buddhist Society,

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EDITORS

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI

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KOBO DAISHI

(774-834)

According to tradition, this was painted by Prince-priest Shinnyo six days before Kobo Daishi entered into his last meditation, and the eyes were dotted by the Daishi himself.

THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

THE SHINGON SCHOOL OF MAHAYANA BUDDHISM*

PART ONE

INTRODUCTORY

1

Shingon (眞言) is the name of a Buddhist sect in Japan which was founded by Kōbō Daishi (弘法大師) in 807, A.D. It was known at that time in China as Chen-yen, and it was there that Kōbō Daishi, who was then called Kūkai (空海), studied it and brought it to Japan.

Shingon means "True Word," and its teaching is esoteric. The element of secrecy has always played a prominent part in the doctrine and in its entirety is taught only to initiates. It is considered to be a teaching that was first imparted by Buddha Mahāvairocana in his spiritual body, and its full and perfect instruction is given only by oral transmission to qualified disciples. In the *Kongōchō-fumbetsushoikyō* (金剛頂分別聖位經), Shingon is spoken of as the sect of the Dhāraṇīs and the Secret Teaching of all the Tathagatas. Although some of the secret teaching has been divulged to the world in these modern days, much is still withheld; for, according to Shingon, certain religious truths and practices can only be taught orally and are known by a secret communication between teacher and pupil, and are never to be given out through the printed page or in a crowded assembly. In other words, they are esoteric in the fullest sense of the term. To study Shingon on its esoteric side, it is necessary to have a personal teacher who initiates

* This study of Shingon will be completed probably in five parts as follows: I. Introductory, II. The Mandalas, III. and IV. Doctrinal Shingon, V. Practical Shingon.

his pupil into the secret practices and the deeper significance of the doctrine. Nevertheless, there is in Shingon much of great interest which is communicable and many books on Shingon doctrine have been written.

One teacher has given as a brief definition of Shingon: "To say the words of the Buddha is the way to walk with the Buddha." Another has said: "To realise Buddhahood in this life, in this body, that is Shingon." My own definition of the true meaning is: "All is One. Realise that. That is the True Word." *Shin* means, "true and genuine," *gon* signifies "word" or "teaching," so Shingon means "the teaching of true words." Shingon is a translation of the Sanskrit *mantra* and the sect is often called the Mantra Sect.

According to Shingon, the teachings of the Buddha given out in his life-time are divided into two classes: Kengyo (顯教) or revealed teachings, and Mikkyo (密教) or mysterious or unrevealed teachings. The former include all the doctrines except the Shingon, such as the Hinayana schools, and of the Mahayana, the Tendai, Kegon, and other doctrines which were preached by the Buddha to people in general, but did not include his own pure teachings understood only by him and enjoyed in his own heart. The reason why the doctrines of the first class are called exoteric, is because they are the teachings proclaimed by Śākyamuni in his manifestation body, the absolute truth being hidden. But Shingon is believed to be the direct speech of the Dharma-kāya Vairochana. The exoteric is temporal, and it expounds how to become a Buddha by practising for long ages, while the esoteric is the absolute teaching of *Sokushinjobutsu* (即身成佛) which instructs beings as to how to become Buddha at once in this very body.

In the exoteric (Kengyo) the process is from the lower to the higher, but in the esoteric (Mikkyo) from the beginning one abides in the ultimate stage far above the process. Mikkyo explains the true nature of Dainichi (大日 Vairochana), that is, the true body of Śākyamuni. Kengyo is removing

the cloud by staying on the earth and looking at the moon, but Mikkyo rides in a divine chariot directly to the moon palace of Dainichi Nyorai (Mahāvairocana), the divine chariot being the practice of the Three Secrets. Mikkyo does not proceed from limitation to infinity, nor from transiency to reality, but directly abides in infinity. Those who practise Shingon abide in the Samādhi of Buddha. With this very body, we are to realise the Dharmakāya and the Great Self. Such a doctrine had never been preached before and it was truly a revolution in Buddhist doctrine.

According to Kōbō Daishi, Kengyo or the exoteric teaching simply strives to remove the ignorance of beings, but Mikkyo (esoteric) abides in enlightenment. The former maintains the doctrines of emptiness and non-self, but Mikkyo directly shows the divine substance and activity of the Tathagata. Kōbō Daishi felt that the Kegon in its doctrine of "Ji ji muge" (事事無礙) came the nearest to enlightenment, and, therefore, that it was only a last step to Shingon. In Kengyo, said Kōbō Daishi, there are Buddhas and beings, but in Shingon there is only Reality, the One, in which, however, all have an individual and conscious part. We can attain to this divine unification by the practice of the Three Secrets. The emphasis in Shingon is positive. The exoteric schools strive to draw men from evil and ignorance, but Shingon lays stress upon the attainment of the state of Buddhahood. Which of the two doctrines will best lead men to Nirvana? In the *Kongocho-gohimitsu-kyo* (金剛頂五秘密經) translated by Fukū Sanzo (不空三藏) we read, "If you practise Kengyo you must spend hundreds of thousands of years of discipline to attain Nirvana, but if you practise Mikkyo you must attain it in your physical body without spending endless time upon it."

In Mahayana Buddhism, the Trikāya, or Three Bodies in One Buddha, is taught, and we shall see later how Shingon adds a fourth and teaches the Buddha of Four Kāya or Bodies. The usual teaching is of Three Bodies, and accord-

ingly Buddha manifests himself, 1. as Hosshin (法身), or Dharmakāya, 2. as Hōshin (報身), or Sambhogakāya, and 3. as Ōjin (應身), or Nirmāṇakāya. To state the ideas briefly: Dharmakāya is the reality of Shinnyo (眞如 *tathatā*), the absolute substance pervading all objects in the universe. The Sambhogakāya is the body of bliss and blessing obtained in consequence of the meritorious deeds performed in numberless existences. The Nirmāṇakāya is the one in which the Buddha appears as teacher in some place, in some time, in the world, as, for example, the Buddha Śākyamuni who appeared in human form in a human world.

Shingon says that the Kengyo or revealed doctrines were taught by Śākyamuni in his transformed body, but that the Mikkyo (Secret Teaching) was imparted by Mahāvairochana (the Buddha in his Dharmakāya form) himself, but that Śākyamuni while in Samādhi (deep meditation) understood, taught, and practised the Mikkyo. So the Secret Doctrine is traced to a secret transmission from the Buddha Mahāvairochana himself and he makes known his true words to those hearers who are prepared for them. In the *Dainichikyo* (大日經) we read: "The person alone may clearly understand it, but no other is able to see it." This is the Secret Teaching of Shingon which cannot be imparted to others with words but is to be understood only through personal experience. In this respect we find an affinity with Zen Buddhism which asserts the same thing. Moreover, in regard to the matter of secrecy, Shingon thinks that it is unwise to "cast pearls before swine," and just as powerful medicines cannot be sold to persons who do not know how to use them properly, so it is best to withhold the instruction until the hearer is fitted to receive it.

According to Kōbō Daishi, the doctrines taught by Śākyamuni in his human body are the exoteric doctrines which are intelligible to all beings, but the teachings given by the Buddha in his spiritual body are signifying the highest truths and are understood only by those prepared to

receive them in their spiritual bodies, that is, by their spiritual conception of consciousness. Shingon asserts that all the Buddhist sects of Hosso (法相), Sanron (三論), Tendai (天台), Kegon (華嚴), Jōdo (淨土), Shin (眞), Nichiren (日蓮), Zen (禪) belong to the exoteric doctrines, but as the Mikkyo was enjoyed by the Buddha through his spiritual discernment it is only as we unite ourselves with him and his consciousness that we are enabled to enjoy it also.

In the *Dainichi-kyo* (大日經) the Ten Minds, or Ten Stages of Thought, are mentioned. These illustrate the different thoughts of different living beings, but Kōbō Daishi used them to explain the difference between the sects. There are various ways of explaining these Ten Minds, but this so-called "lengthwise" way is according to Kōbō Daishi's *Hizōhoyaku* (秘藏寶鑰) and *Jūjūshinron* (十住心論) where he uses them to explain the gradual improvement of the religious aspirant from the beginning to enlightenment. According to Kōbō Daishi, the first nine Minds may be taken to belong to the Kengyo and the tenth alone to the Mikkyo; and yet from another point of view all ten belong to the Mikkyo, the first nine being considered lower stages of the one Mind. So the exoteric sects are really a part of Shingon, for they are the various stages through which the Shingon believers must pass. All these teachings, then, are really nothing but the states or stages in the development of the mind of Shingon believers; the first nine being taken as the exoteric or lower stages of the esoteric doctrine. The *Jūjūshin* teaches us that we must not be content with relative perfection, but to proceed to deep faith and full enlightenment with realisation of our oneness with the Buddha.

The first stage is called *Ishō-teiyō-shin* (異生羝羊心). In this stage beings are unenlightened, opposed to any teaching, are set upon temporary pleasures, and commit the ten sins without restraint. Yet even for these beings, because they possess latent Buddhahood, there is hope for them to enter the stages if they receive good instruction from a

superior person. This is the stage of the ordinary man of the world.

The second stage is called Gudō-jisai-shin (愚童持齋心). Here the being is like a foolish boy but he has begun to practise morality and has an ideal of virtue before him. The followers of Confucius and of ordinary Christianity fall into this group, but of course, Kōbō Daishi himself only referred to Confucianism.

The third stage is that of Yōdō-mui-shin (嬰童無畏心). The being in this mind is not satisfied with temporal fame and wealth but aspires to an ideal state, i. e. heaven. According to Kōbō Daishi, the practiser in this stage has progressed into the Three Secrets and follows the precepts. We may say, according to Shingon scholars, that the more modern Jōdo sects and the higher Christianity would be included here.

Yuiun-muga-shin (唯蘊無我心) is the fourth stage of mind, which is that of the Śrāvakas (or hearers). Here the man realises the theory of non-ego and strives to enter Nirvana by meditating upon the Four Noble Truths. This stage corresponds to Hinayana Buddhism which is taught in the Kusha (俱舍) sect of Japan.

Now we come to the fifth stage, Batsugo-inshu-shin (拔業因種心), which corresponds to the Pratyekabuddha who devotes himself to his enlightenment without having deep compassion for others. The Śrāvaka gains enlightenment through meditation on the Four Noble Truths, while the Pratyekabuddha meditates upon the Twelve Nidānas, through which he realises the real nature of transmigration (*samsāra*). The idea is to get rid of re-birth, and to do this an end must be put to life in human or celestial worlds. The cause of re-birth is Karma, which is caused by delusion, which in turn is caused by ignorance (*avidyā*). To extinguish Avidyā is to root out the cause of Karma and the way to do this is through the method of the Twelve Nidānas.

In the Taen-daijo-shin (他緣大乘心) of the sixth stage,

the mind of beings is compared to the Hosso point of view. Here compassion for others is stressed and desire is aroused to attain enlightenment for self and others through the practice of the Six Perfections (*pāramitās*). In this stage it is realised that the three worlds and all the Dharmas are produced by one Mind and we can thereby get rid of attachment and a wrong view of life.

The seventh stage, Kakushin-fusho-shin (覺心不生心), corresponds to the mind of a believer of the Sanron sect. In the sixth stage it was realised that delusion can be overcome by the belief that all the dharmas are produced by the one Mind, but in this seventh stage we find that all objects are empty. The believer in Sanron tries to realise his true nature by the practice of the Middle Way. He dispels his relative delusions through the realisation of the Eight Not's: not-birth, not-death, not-temporal, not-eternal, not-one, not-many, not-coming, not-going. One in this stage thinks that the Absolute, the Bhūtatahatā, alone is real. His ideal is to realise the truth of the Absolute through the wisdom of the Middle Way, which does not go to extremes.

The eighth stage is that of Nyojitsu-ichido-shin (如實一道心), the state of mind of Tendai believers. Ichido means the "one way," which is the path of the *Hokke Sūtra* (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*). In the seventh stage the noumenon was emphasised, but in this stage the endeavour is to make clear the interrelation of the phenomenal world and the noumenon. Tendai tries to realise the real nature of the mind which is pure, through a knowledge of the three truths of non-being (空), being (假), and the middle (中). In this stage Shinnyo (Absolute) is the same as the phenomenal world.

In the ninth stage, Gokumu-jisho-shin (極無自性心), we have the mind that corresponds to that of the Kegon sect (*Avatamsaka*), with its doctrine of the interpenetration of Shinnyo, beings, and phenomena.

The tenth and last stage, the Himitsu-shogon-shin (秘密

莊嚴心) depicts the mind of the Shingon Mikkyo, which gives a perfect and true explanation of the real nature of the universe and its becomings. The Shingon mind teaches the origin of all beings in the six great elements which are the source of all existing phenomena and are real.

Thus we can see that one great difference between the Shingon believers and all others is that the Shingon believer tries to find reality through action, where others try to find reality by putting away illusions.

The main reason why Kōbō Daishi established the new sect of Shingon came from his earnest desire to save both superior and inferior people and to show them the shortest cut to arrive at Buddhahood. In the *Hotsubodaishinron* (發菩提心論) we are taught that when any person becomes well versed in the meaning of Bodaishin (*bodhicitta*) after searching for Buddha's wisdom, he can ascend at once to the throne of greatest enlightenment with his mortal body which he has received from his parents: so Shingon teaches the way to open Buddha's wisdom in us, to enable us to acquire Buddha's power in us, and to develop the various virtues of the Buddha in us. Enlightenment is manifested through this very body and this very mind. We will return to this subject later, but here this thought is presented as the very heart of Shingon teaching.

Mikkyo (Shingon) teaches, quite contrary to Hinayana, that this world and human life have value, and that this world is the world of the Mandala and manifests the virtues of Mahāvairocana, and that the purpose of Mahayana is to make us find the eternal in definite and finite things. So, in reality, we are true sons of Buddha, for we are in nature one with him who is the spiritual Reality. This is an entirely different conception in Buddhism. The common and fundamental principle of ordinary Buddhism is Śūnya which means that we do not recognise the temporal existence of the phenomenal world and that all beings are produced by the combination of all relations and so have no unchangeable

and fixed essence, but Shingon has a different way of looking at this. We come to know the great emptiness of things through wisdom and then we transcend reality; as we know the real meaning of the phenomenal world, we are free from phenomenal things, and as we grasp the principle of reality great compassion comes to us and our thoughts are no longer set upon Nirvana as an ideal, but for the sake of others we wish to remain in this phenomenal world to work for them. Ordinary Buddhism was preached to enlightened beings to show the value of the individual in the universal. In Shingon, the principle of *Śūnyatā* (emptiness) is passed through. Affirmation and not negation is the ultimate end of enlightenment. The real nature of the Tathagata is not *Śūnyatā* but action in inaction, omnipresent, eternal, and absolute being.

Later we shall return to this and discuss the principle of non-ego from the Shingon point of view in connection with the problem of the Dharmakāya. But we can say now that all beings can share the light of the Tathagata and realise individually his nature. So we see that Hinayana Buddhism teaches the impermanence of all things including beings themselves, but that Shingon teaches their permanence and absoluteness which is above birth and death. We may look upon it as a difference in the point of view. Briefly, Hinayana seeks Nirvana outside the world of birth and death, but Mahayana finds Nirvana in this very life and death. As the Hinayanist seeks to get rid of this world of birth and death and enter Nirvana, Mahayanists seek for the activity of saving others and postpone their Nirvana, or rather they can find their Nirvana in the everlasting Here and Now, i.e. in this very body, in this world, in this present life.

All Mahayana sutras have only one teaching and come to the same conclusion, i. e. the one reality of all things. In the *Hokke Gengi* (法華玄義) Chisha Daishi (智者大師) states that this is the essential foundation. The *Shōmangyo* (勝鬘經) shows the purity of all things in their essential

nature the *Kegongyo* (華嚴經) portrays the Dharmakāya, the *Hannyakyo* (般若經) holds out the ideal of Buddhahood, the *Hokkekyo* (法華經) the sameness of all beings having Buddhahood in their nature. In reality these are all one to realise the eternal life of the Tathagata. In the *Kegongyo* the ultimate goal is conceived of as realising the truth of the absoluteness of all things by the highest wisdom, but in Mikkyo the mind and body of all beings are themselves those of Mahāvairochana. In Mikkyo, the absolute wisdom of acquired Bodhicitta (菩提心) becomes one with the inherent Bodhicitta. The highest wisdom and the highest compassion become one. The *Dainichikyo* (大日經) says, "When Mahāvairochana attained enlightenment, then all beings were able to enter the real world of Kongōkai (金剛界) and become individual aspects of his enlightenment."

But as beings do not understand this they seem to be immersed in ignorance and delusion. Therefore, true enlightenment in Mikkyo means to become aware of our real nature and our own true enlightenment. The main feature of Mikkyo teaching is that it claims the eternal reality of all things which means that apparently unenlightened beings and the Tathagata have the same inherent Bodhicitta. The present world is Buddha's world, the present human body is Buddha's body, all beings themselves are the concrete form of Mahāvairochana. So in Mikkyo realism means the realisation of the inherent Bodhicitta of all beings or the real form of the Tathagata where Kengyo is the doctrine of the absoluteness of all things. The process of the progress of the mind of beings is shown in the *Jūjūshinron* (十住心論) until the realisation is reached that beings and Tathagata are one and the same in nature and that beings can perform deeds of mercy as the Tathagata does. Mikkyo explains that the essence of the self-enlightenment of Mahāvairochana is the real form of the Tathagata and his merciful activities are manifested by him in all worlds and pervade the universe. Moreover the nature of the inherent Bodhicitta of all beings

is also universal and eternal as is the Tathagata and that if a being realises his real nature he becomes one with the essence of the Tathagata's enlightenment and enters the eternal spiritual life with the Tathagata. In other words, there is absolute spiritual communion, harmony, interpenetration, and unity between them, and this is made possible to beings through the Mikkyo as explained by Kōbō Daishi. Through the Mikkyo the highest spiritual life which is eternal and absolute can be attained.

Before Kōbō Daishi the difference between Kengyo and Mikkyo indeed emphasised the question of how to enter the path of Nirvana, but after Kōbō Daishi, four points are to be noted. 1. The Buddha, 2. His Doctrine, 3. The Hearers, 4. The Speed of Attaining Buddhahood. Kōbō Daishi treats of this in his *Benkenmitsunikyoron* (辨顯密二教論). 1. In the first chapter of this book, a difference is made between the Buddha of Kengyo and Mikkyo, for it is the Buddha of Hosshin, the Dharmakāya, who preaches the Mikkyo. 2. Kengyo teaches as its ideal an experience which is beyond our thought and knowledge, but Mikkyo's enlightenment can be realised here and now and expressed. 3. As to the hearers, Kōbō Daishi insisted that there are not two kinds of Buddhism, Kengyo and Mikkyo, but two kinds of hearers. If the hearers listen to the same doctrine and understand it as Kengyo, they are not wise; the truly wise understand it as Mikkyo. 4. Enlightenment is not a matter of time. The *Jūjūshin* teaches us that we must not be content with relative perfection, but proceed to deep faith and full enlightenment with realisation of our oneness with the Buddha.

There are two sides of the Shingon teaching, namely, the Kyōsō (教相), or theoretical, and the Jisō (事相), or practical. They are like the two wheels of a carriage, or the two wings of a bird, one is as necessary as the other. The Kyōsō, the theoretical, is stated in books, but the Jisō is transmitted orally from master to pupil. And here again, although the development has been different, the Shingon is

like Zen in this idea of oral transmission, the Shingon from the Absolute Buddha Mahāvairocana, and the Zen from the Buddha Śākyamuni. As Yukwai (宥快) of Koyasan once said: "The Secret Teaching I transmit has been successively given from master to pupil directly ever since Vairocana the Buddha. What are sūtras and kalpas compared to this?" So the Shingon, like the Zen, lays far more stress on great and illumined teachers who can give oral transmission than on sūtras and śāstras.

The Secret Teaching arose when Vairocana the Buddha preached it in the spiritual realm, but it was not known to men until Nāgārjuna obtained it in the Iron Tower from Vajrasattva. Whether this tower was an actual tower or whether it is a symbol of the enlightened state of Nāgārjuna's mind, is a question. The key to Shingon lies in Nāgārjuna's statement that not only the mind but the body itself becomes Buddha, that men in this very body and in this very world may become a Buddha. At the end of the *Bodaishinron* by Nāgārjuna we find this passage: "The body born of parents forthwith accomplishes the grand or final enlightenment." And, "Body (or form) and mind are not two, enlightenment can be accomplished with this very body." In fact Shingon asserts that full enlightenment can be accomplished or attained in this life, in this body, and with this mind.

The sutras which Shingon consider authoritative and on which it bases its teachings are the *Dainichikyō* (大日經, *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*) translated by Zemmui (善無畏, Subhakarasiṃha); and the *Kongōchōkyō* (金剛頂經) (*Vajraśekhara Sūtra*) translated by Fukū (不空, Amoghavajra); the śāstra *Bodaishiron* (菩提心論) written by Nāgārjuna and translated by Fukū. It can be seen that Nāgārjuna is the father of Shingon, the fountainhead of the Secret Word. Mahāvairocana preached the doctrine to the spiritual worlds and Vajrasattva reduced it to writing and Nāgārjuna received from Vajrasattva not only the written teaching but also the oral and in turn taught it to his pupil Ryūichi.

2

There are two lineages of Patriarchs or Fathers of this sect. The first is called the Eight Fathers of Fuhō (付法) or transmitters of the Dharma. The other is called the Eight Fathers of the Denji (傳持), the traditional preservers of the Dharma. The first, the transmitters, are as follows: Mahāvairochana (大日), Vajrasattva (金剛薩埵), Nāgārjuna (龍猛, Ryūmyō), Nāgabodhi (龍智, Ryūchi), Vajrabodhi (金剛智, Kongochi), Amoghavajra (不空金剛, Fukū Kongo), Keikwa (惠果), Kūkai (空海, Kōbō Daishi, 弘法大師), who became the founder of the Shingon sect of Japan.

The second, the preservers, are: Nāgārjuna, Nāgabodhi, Vajrabodhi, Subhakarasiṃha (善無畏), Amoghavajra, Ichigyo (一行), Keikwa, Kūkai.

According to Vajrabodhi, at the time of the Buddha's death an iron stupa containing scriptures had been set up and never opened. Nāgārjuna wished to open it in order to find the sacred writings. For a week he walked around it, repeating a sacred mantra and vowing to devote his life to the holy word. At last he was able to enter the stupa and there he found the great sutras. He learned them and wrote them down; so Nāgārjuna is called the founder of Shingon Mikkyō.

Nāgārjuna (Ryūmyō or Ryūju in Japanese) was the son of a noble Brahman in South India. He was a talented young man and very accomplished, but he gave himself up to sensual pleasures. Once, when with three companions he entered the king's palace pursuing a love affair, he made a narrow escape but his companions were killed. This incident made a great impression upon Nāgārjuna and he realised that desires are the cause of pains and the source of evil, so he became a Buddhist monk and studied the Hinayana scriptures, but when he went to the Himalayas he was given a Mahayana sutra by an old monk and thereafter he began to study, teach, and propagate the Mahayana.

According to the Denji lineage, Nāgabodhi (Ryūchi in Japanese) was the second patriarch. We know little of his life, but all the records state that he was the teacher of Vajrabodhi (Kongochi) who studied Mikkyo with him for seven years in South India. He may not have been the direct pupil of Nāgārjuna but he was certainly an indirect one and there must have been other teachers of the Mikkyo standing between him and Nāgārjuna whose names we do not know. Kōbō Daishi identified him with Dharmagupta, but whether they were the same person or not we cannot tell. According to the *Genjō-gyōjōki* (玄奘行狀記) which is a life of Hsüan-chuang written by his pupil Jion 慈恩, there was in the time of Hsüan-chuang an aged Brahman in South India who was said to have been a pupil of Nāgārjuna. From him Hsüan-chuang learned the *Madhyamaka-sāstra* and others. Kōbō Daishi believed this Brahman to be Nāgabodhi (Ryūchi). Nothing is certain about him, however, except that he was the teacher of Kongōchi and Fukū. Of his own works only one was translated into Chinese, the *Jubodaishinkaigi* (受菩提心戒儀), a kind of Vinaya. According to another tradition, Ryūchi was the same as Dharmakīrti from whom Prajñā learned Mikkyo in South India.

Nāgabodhi's pupil Vajrabodhi (Kongōchi) was the third son of Ishānamama, a king of Central India. He was born in 671 A.D. At ten years of age he became a Buddhist monk in Nālanda temple and learned the *Vaiśākaraṇa sāstra* from Munibodhi (Jakujōchi). At the age of fifteen he went to West India and there studied the *Abhidharmavibhāsa sāstra*. Then he returned to Nālanda and received Upasampadā. From the time he was twenty he studied the Vinaya of both Hinayana and Mahayana, also the works of Nāgārjuna and his followers. When he was twenty-eight he went to Kapilavastu in Central India and for three years studied the works of Asanga and Vasubandhu. When he was thirty-one he went to South India and there met Nāgabodhi from whom

he learned both the esoteric and exoteric Buddhism, and also studied philosophy, science, and art. He returned to Central India and made a pilgrimage to the eight stupas of Buddha. Later on at the time of a great drought the king invited Kongōchi to his palace and asked him to pray for rain. He did so and the rain fell to the great joy of the king and the people who were so grateful that they erected a temple for him where he stayed for three years. There was a Niguruda tree that stood by the sacred place of Avalokiteśvara on the Potalakagiri Mountain in the Himalayas, which was dying. Kongōchi prayed and fasted for a week and the tree revived and flourished again. Avalokiteśvara appeared to him and said: "You have already succeeded in your studies, now go to Ceylon to worship, and then proceed to China to make a pilgrimage to the holy place of Mañjuśrī and redeem all beings by teaching them." In accordance with these words, he went to Ceylon with eight of his pupils and worshipped Dharmadhātu which was preserved in Abhayagirivihara near the palace of the king of Ceylon. Then he climbed Alanka where he worshipped the Buddhapada and returned to Malaya in South India. After a month's stay he asked permission of the king to go on his pilgrimage. The king wished him to remain in his own country but when he found that he could not be deterred from his wish to go, the king ordered General Majana to accompany him, carrying the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtras* and also many valuable gifts to the Chinese emperor. He reached Ceylon where he received a warm welcome from the king and then after a month's voyage he came to Java where he was well treated by the king there, and where he was detained for five months by bad weather. It was here that Fukū Sanzo (Amoghavajra) became his pupil. After a difficult voyage he reached Kuang-fu (廣府), modern Canton. This was in 719 A.D. He was welcomed by company of three thousand persons. The next spring he went to Loyang and had an audience with the Emperor Hsüan-tsung. By command of the Emperor he

first lived in Jion temple (慈恩) and then in Sempukuji (薦福寺) in Chang-an, engaged in missionary work for twenty-two years, first in Loyang and then in Chang-an. Many priests and others visited him to learn his teaching, and among them Ichigyo (一行), was one of his great pupils. He translated many books into Chinese. He also wrote a number of original works. On the 26th day of July in 741 A.D. he fell ill in Loyang and died on the fifteenth of August. Twenty-five years later he was given the posthumous name of Daikōkyo (Great Propagator) Sanzo, 大弘教三藏, by the Emperor Tai-tsung.

Kongōchi's pupil Fukū Kongo (Amoghavajra) was born in Ceylon in 705 A.D. His father is said to have been a Brahmin of North India. He lost his parents when young and went with an uncle to Java where he met Kongōchi. He became a monk and joined his teacher Kongōchi in Loyang in China. He studied deeply and mastered the Buddhist teachings in both the Sanskrit and the Chinese language. He assisted his teacher Kongōchi in translating the sutras and attended upon the master for more than twenty years. In 743 he started for Ceylon in order to acquire the larger books of both *Vajrasekhara-sūtra* and the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* which his master, owing to their loss at sea, had not been able to bring to China. He reached Ceylon safely and was welcomed by the king, and it is said that he travelled in India to complete his researches, and having secured the sutras he returned to China in 746 A.D. The Emperor Hsüan-tsung was much pleased with his return and asked him to perform the ceremony of Kwanjō (灌頂) in his palace. He went on with his great work of translation and he may well be called one of the foremost translators in the history of Chinese Buddhism. Three emperors, Hsüan, Su, and Tai, revered him and he was given the honorable title of Daikōchi Fukū Sanzō (大廣智不空三藏) by the Emperor Tai-tsung. Fuku Sanzō died on the fifteenth of June, 775 A.D. and was given the posthumous name of Daibenshokochi Fukū Sanzō,

大辨正廣智不空三藏和尚 (Fukū, the great, eloquent, right, learned, wise master of the Tripitaka).

Subhakarasiṃha (Zemmui, 善無畏) was born of a Kshatriyan family in Magadha of North India in 637 A.D. His father was King of Udyāna and a descendant of King Amritodana who was a younger brother of Śākyamuni's father. After the death of his father Zemmui when only thirteen years old succeeded to the throne, but when dissensions arose he abdicated in favor of his brother and became a Buddhist monk. He travelled extensively visiting many teachers, meditating in quiet places, and mastering the doctrines and practices of the different schools. At that time there was living in the Nālanda Vihāra in Central India, a great teacher whose name was Dharmagupta, and Zemmui studied under him and then travelled over India teaching and preaching. Dharmagupta advised his pupil to go to China in order to transmit the Mikkyō. He obeyed and arrived at Chang-an in 716 A.D. at the age of 80. He proceeded to make many translations, the most notable being the *Mahāvairochana Sūtra*. He died in China in 735 A.D. at the age of ninety-nine mourned by the Emperor and the people.

Ichigyo (一行) was born in China in 683 A.D., the grand son of a prince of Yen (郾). He became a Buddhist monk and learned Zen and the Vinaya Pitaka. He received the teaching of the *Mahāvairochana Sūtra* from Zemmui and the secrets of the *Kongōchōkyō* (*Vajrasekhara*) from Kongōchi. He wrote the only authoritative commentary on the *Daimichikyō* from lectures of Zemmui. He also wrote a number of original books. He died when he was only forty-five in 727 A.D.

Keikwa (惠果), the seventh patriarch, was born in 746 A.D. in China, the same year in which Fukū Sanzo returned to China from Ceylon. He became Fukū's pupil when he was only seven or eight years old and received Upasampadā when he was twenty. For the next twenty years he studied all the doctrines and practices of Mikkyō and mastered them.

When his study was completed he became a fully qualified teacher of Mikkyo both parts of the Mandala having been transmitted to him. Fukū's other great pupils only mastered one part of the Mikkyo (the Vajradhātu Mandala), so we can see what great confidence Fukū placed in Keikwa. In turn Keikwa transmitted one or the other part of Mikkyo to his pupils, except to Gimyo (義明) and to Kōbō Daishi to whom he transmitted both. Three Emperors, Tai, Tê and Shun, revered him and received Kwanjo from him. He died at sixty years of age, on December 15, 805 A.D.

The founder of Mikkyo in Japan was the priest Kūkai (空海), posthumously titled Kōbō Daishi (弘法大師) by which name he is more popularly known. He was born in Byobugaura, a beautiful village in Sanuki province on the island of Shikoku. His father was Saiki Yoshimichi (or in Western writing, Yoshimichi Saiki), who was a daimyo of the province. His mother was Lady Tamayori, a descendent of the Ato family. The family was prosperous and prominent. Their son, Kūkai, was born on the fifteenth of June, in the fifth year of Hōki, 774 A.D. He was named Mao and was their third child. At the age of six he was called Totomono (precious thing), for even then he was noted for his precocity and his piety. There are many legends about wonderful things that happened at his birth and in his childhood.

As his father noticed that he liked to play with Buddhist objects, he thought of making him a priest, but his uncle who was a teacher of the Chinese classics thought it would be better for him to have a classical education, so when a youth of fifteen he was sent to Kyoto to study with his uncle, Atono Otani. Under his uncle's care he studied hard for four years and at eighteen entered the university. He became dissatisfied, however, with worldly learning and his mind turned to Buddhism. He became a disciple of the priest Gonzo (勤操) who was the head priest of the temple Iwabuchi and at that time received the name Kūkai. It was also then that

he wrote a book called *Sangoshiki*, in which he made critical interpretation of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. Soon after this he gave himself up to spiritual training and travelled all over Japan, meditating in deep forests, climbing mountains, and practising ascetic discipline. He found a copy of the *Dainichi-kyo* (*Mahāvairochana sūtra*) in the Kume temple at Takaichi in Yamato, but as he could not understand it, he made up his mind to go to China. He received permission from the Emperor and set sail from Matsuura in Hizen in July of the twenty-third year of Enryaku, in company with Kadonomaru Fujiwara, the Japanese ambassador to China. Passing through many difficulties in connection with storms and hindrances regarding landing, Kūkai finally reached China in August 805 and studied there for two years. In Chang-an he visited every prominent priest and finally met Keikwa in Seiryuji temple. When Keikwa saw Kūkai he said: "I knew already that you would come to China to visit me. I have waited a long time for you. I offer my hearty congratulations to you. I wish to teach you. Prepare at once to receive the doctrine of Mikkyo." Keikwa taught him from the sacred sutras and revealed to him all the Shingon teachings and mysteries. From Keikwa he received not only personal instruction but also many religious books and implements for use in the rituals. Keikwa died before Kūkai left China and Kūkai erected a monument to his teacher.

Kūkai even at this time was famous for his handwriting and also for skill in drawing and painting. He worked very hard at all these arts and studied Sanskrit and other Buddhist doctrines besides the Mikkyo. Kūkai returned happily to Japan and began to preach his doctrines. In 811 he inaugurated his teaching of Ryōbu Shinto (兩部神道), the union of Buddhism and Shinto. He found favour with the Emperor and the Imperial court and the new teaching became a great success. Men of all ranks from the Emperor down to the poorest of the poor supported him.

However, the new teaching did not go unchallenged; the priests of the eight sects in Nara, especially those of Hosso (法相) stood for a time against him. But the chance came for him to uphold his doctrine before them all, for in the fourth year of Kōnin, Emperor Saga gave an order for the priests of all sects to present themselves at the palace. There the doctrine of Mikkyō was attacked to which Kūkai responded in a fluent lecture, upholding the teaching of Sokushinjobutsu (即身成佛), "becoming Buddha in this very body." Then it is said that before the eyes of the astonished Emperor, court, and clergy, Kūkai appeared for a moment before them in the form of the Buddha Mahāvairochana. As a result of this incident all were convinced of his doctrine and of himself as a holy messenger.

After his return from China, Kūkai travelled about Japan, spreading his doctrine and founding temples, and in the seventh year of Kōnin (817 A.D.) he established the great monastery at Kōya-san. The mountain was given to the Daishi by the Emperor Saga. Here many temples were erected and soon Kōya became a famous sanctuary and to this day is the holy place of Shingon. Kōbō Daishi wrote many books at Koya and died there or as Shingon believers say, entered into meditation, on March 21, in the second year of Jōwa (834). Before his departure he called his disciples together and told them: "At first I thought I should live till I was a hundred years old and convert all the people, but now that you are all grown up there is no need for my life to be prolonged, and I shall therefore enter 'Kongō-jyō' (*vajradhyāna*) the Diamond World on the twenty-first day of next March. But you need by no means grieve, for my spirit lives." In the year 931 he was given the title Kōbō Daishi (Great Teacher of Law-propagation) by Emperor Daigo. At Kōya-san he is supposed to lie uncorrupted in the tomb, awaiting the coming of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future.

Shingon followers believe that Kōbō Daishi was himself

a great Bodhisattva and the representative on earth of Maitreya. He was not only a great religious leader, but he was also active in all sorts of social work for the benefit of his country. Moreover, he was skilled as artist, sculptor, calligrapher, author, and the inventor of the Hiragana syllabary. He was one of the greatest men of Japan quite outside the sphere of religion, and in the field of religion he is unsurpassed. Shingon followers revere him as a Buddha and feel that his spiritual light is still shining upon the world. Indeed, he must have been a great personality to make people even of the present time still regard him as "great teacher" and "holy saint."

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI

POEMS BY KŌBŌ DAISHI

(*Rendered by B. L. S.*)

THE BU-PO-SO¹

Within the quiet forest,
Alone in the straw-thatched hut,
So early in the morning,
I hear the sound of a bird.
It sings of the Triple Treasure,
'Tis the Bu-po-so.
The bird has a voice for singing,
A man has a mind for thinking,
The voice and the mind,
The clouds and the stream,
Express the Buddha-wisdom.

PARTING²

Studying the same doctrine,
Under one master,
You and I are friends.
See yonder white mists
Floating in the air
On the way back to the peaks.
This parting may be our last meeting
In this life.
Not just in a dream,
But in our deep thought,
Let us meet often
Hereafter.

¹ The Bu-po-so is a large bird found in the depth of forests in Japan, Korea, and China. It is sacred in Buddhism, for its song repeats the syllables *bu-po-so*: *bu*=*butsu*=Buddha; *po*=*ho*=Dharma; *so*=Sangha=Brotherhood.

² The parting was with Giso, one of Kōbō's fellow-monks studying under Keikwa. "The master" refers to this Keikwa.

AŚVAGHOSHA

- The enlightenment which you have gained
Differs not from what belongs
To ultimate reality itself
Primarily-entirely :
Such is the teaching of Aśvaghosha.

THE ENLIGHTENED MIND

1

From the beginning
That which I sought
Lay in my hands.
How stupid I was
To have thought it an echo
Floating to me
From beyond!

2

Now enlightened, back I look,
And lo! this new mind of mine—
What is it but that very one
Which formerly was covered o'er
With clouds?

3

Think not that the light appears
With the clearing of the clouds;
The moon has been there all the while
Shining in the sky,
For ages past.
So does the mind
Eternally abide in me.

ANJIN* IN SHINGON

When a wicked person repents of his evil life, is reformed, and becomes good, his life seems entirely changed. His reformation has not produced any difference in his sense organs and his body, but he has received a change of mental direction from bad to good.

Nothing is so wonderful as the mind. If the direction of the mind is changed, it can make a man good or bad. According to the theory of knowledge, our worlds as constructed by the mind are varied according to the different mental standpoints. "The three worlds are one mind, nothing besides Mind." Indeed all conditions are produced by the One Mind.

What is entering the religious life or awakening religious faith but the change of direction of the mind? Entering the religious life points out to us the right direction. It is quite natural that when we have religious faith our world becomes quite different from what it was before. Now this state to which our mind is changed is called in Shingon getting *Anjin* which is fixing the mind on real truth. After we have gained this *Anjin* our daily life improves because our mind has changed through this great spiritual inspiration. An intimate relation exists between our religious life and our ordinary life. How has our mind changed us? What do we become when we enter the religious life as taught by Shingon?

Shingon makes our mind act firmly because of grasping the truth of our oneness with Buddha. The important points in Shingon are: believing in the truth of oneness, the endeavour to improve in speaking, acting, and thinking as near like the Buddha as possible, and to have the attainment to Buddhahood for our ideal. According to Shingon, all beings in their nature are one with Buddha and they strive

* Literally, "mind pacified." This article is an attempt to explain the Shingon way of mind-pacification, i.e. Shingon faith.

for perfect communication with Buddha. The aim and practice of Shingon followers is to attain Buddhahood in this world and with this very body. In Saimyoji Tokiyori's poem we read, "Man can become either Buddha or a god. Then how can he be careless about his mind?"

According to Shingon, not only the mind but the body has the virtues of the Buddha and so all the mystic faculties can be cultivated in both. Kōbō Daishi said in his *Hiken*, "The truth of Buddha is not far away from us but very near, for it exists in our minds and as Bhūtatathatā does not exist outside of us. How can we attain it by giving up our bodies? Enlightenment and unenlightenment belong to us, so we can attain to Buddhahood at once when we get the religious mind. Ignorance and enlightenment, darkness and light do not exist outside of us. So we can realise the highest truth at once if we believe in it and practise it." This teaching of his shows us that our bodies and minds are of the six great elements of the great Dharmakāya.

If this teaching is received with a careless mind it seems unimportant but truly it is a great discovery for which we should have the greatest wonder and gratitude. If we meditate deeply we can learn these truths for ourselves, that is, that innately we possess the noble virtues of the Buddha within our real nature and that in spite of living a life full of delusion, still our bodies and minds are really the six elements of the great Dharmakāya. This is a true fact as taught by Buddha.

Anjin in Shingon is the belief that beings in their nature are truly Buddha, filled with perfect wisdom and perfect compassion. When we can attain to this state of belief, the direction of our minds and characters are changed from the very depths.

The attitude of such a mind is: (1) When we think of ourselves as unenlightened, full of sins and destined to eternal transmigration, discouragement arises, and it is difficult to maintain a courageous frame of mind; (2) But

if, on the contrary, we realise our true nature to be one with the Buddha, then we are filled with gratitude, and the idea to make the effort to realise comes up in the mind, (3) When we think of ourselves as we seem at present we cannot help but have a strong feeling of repentance and deep shame. Our *Anjin* which makes us realise Oneness can control our characters by means of the strong effort to attain the highest and the deep self-reflection which compares our apparent self with our true real self.

Our *Anjin* helps us to think of others as Buddha, and by "the others" is meant not only human beings but all beings in the universe. When we realise the existence of the Absolute One pervading not only us but all the universe, conscious of its perfect wisdom and compassion, it is impossible for us to keep from paying reverence to it with a pious mind, and at the same time we are filled with joy when we know that we are one with this Absolute Being.

Owing to universal communication we are justified in taking refuge in the Buddhas and the founder of Shingon by paying homage and receiving their protection.

There are some who may think it a contradiction to bow down before Buddhas and perform ceremonies before them because *Anjin* teaches that man and Buddha are one, but this is a superficial opinion and comes from shallowness in understanding the *Anjin* of Oneness.

The teaching of Oneness, i. e. the identity of us with Buddha is from the point of view of the Absolute, but from the relative point of view we are still unenlightened. In this attitude of mind we resemble Tariki followers, our devotion comes from the *Anjin* of Oneness which believes in the real and ultimate relation between ourselves and Buddha: for this reason we can have firm confidence in communication between the one who is revered and the true self, and at the same time we can feel at rest and joyful just as in the relation which exists between an affectionate mother and son.

There may be persons who think of *Anjin* as only a theory and as not powerful enough to work such a radical change in us, but it is not a theory but a demonstrable fact that *Anjin* effects a profound change in the minds and characters of Shingon believers. We must keep in mind that all things in religion can develop through mystical sentiment and powerful effort.

SHŌKEN AKIZUKI

BUDDHIST CHANT

I take my refuge in the Perfect One,
Buddha, the Highest Goal of all endeavour,
Of Wisdom Boundless, Universal Sun
That draws with Love which nought can ever sever.

In Dharma also, do I refuge take,
The Perfect Law, wherever it be found,
Which shines before the upward path I make,
Boundless beyond, unalterably sound.

In precious Sangha's Fellowship take I
My refuge, that will lead to perfect peace,
The Order Blest for all mankind to try,
The way to endless Knowledge and Release.

H. W. B. Moreno

MAHAYANA BUDDHISM AND JAPANESE CULTURE

Buddhism, so far known to the West, has been Buddhism whose canonical literature is written in Pali and generally known as belonging to the Hinayana. While the Sanskrit literature is not unknown yet it is to a limited extent. Even those who are acquainted with something of Mahayana are apt to regard it as a degenerated form of Buddhism. But in Japan it was from the very beginning Mahayana Buddhism that was introduced more than thirteen centuries ago, when Prince Shōtoku declared Japan to be the country most suited for the propagation of Mahayana Buddhism. Thus it came to pass that whenever Buddhism was mentioned in Japan it was the Mahayana form of it and not the Hinayana. The study of the latter was not, however, neglected, it was one of the curriculum in Buddhist colleges. The Hinayana was a study, not a religion in Japan. No wonder that it was in Japan that the Mahayana during its history of thirteen centuries has achieved most wonderful developments dividing itself into many sects which represented the many-sidedness of the Buddhist doctrine, and that it also came to be most closely woven into the texture of Japanese life and culture. If Japan has anything contributive to the civilisation of the world it is principally the product of Mahayana Buddhism.

Since the restoration about sixty years ago Japan has learned to take many things from the West, especially its industry, machinery, and political organisation. The adoption was not of course a mere imitation but assimilation which was carried out in an original manner. By this I mean that Western civilisation in Japan was modified according to the spirit of Mahayana Buddhism so as to promote life and culture in its most Oriental phase. In the adoption, therefore, there has been something quite original. To

understand this spirit of originality peculiar to Japanese life, no earnest student of Japan can ignore the signification of Mahayana Buddhism.

The rise of Mahayana Buddhism is a long history, we can say that it began to flourish at least two or three hundred years after the Buddha when the Prajñāpāramitā literature began to be compiled, nay, even when the Agamas were in the process of final redaction in which we have Subhūti as a representative of the doctrine of Śūnyatā. From this we can infer that the so-called enlightenment attained by Śākyamuni contained much of what came to be recognised as Mahayanistic though this fact never came to the surface in the consciousness of the Buddhists as distinguished from the Hinayanistic. The *Vimalakīrti*, the *Sukhāvativyūha*, the *Daśabhūmi*, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, and other sutras mark no doubt stages of historical development, but we cannot deny the truth that they all endeavour to depict Enlightenment itself.

This conclusion may appear too dogmatic, but when we know the so-called Agama texts are too abstract, too archaic, too poor in content, we naturally surmise the presence of something much deeper, more appealing directly to the heart of every Buddhist. Without this surmise we cannot explain the wonderful power contained in the discourses of the Buddha which he was supposed to have given on numerous occasions. This inspiring power was not concretely grasped by those compilers of the Agamas. For instance, soon after the Enlightenment the Buddha was travelling with the group of his disciples in the neighbourhood of Magadha. When he saw a great fire he said, "O monks, better embrace this big fire than falling in love with a woman; fire burns the body but lust leads us to hell. It is like drinking boiling metal to be the recipient of a charity who has no faith, no morality in him," and so on. When this sermon was given the sixty disciples left the Brotherhood realising the difficulty of religious training, sixty others prostrated themselves on the

ground vomitting blood, while sixty others were cleaned of their spiritual defilements and attained enlightenment. The incident is told in the text in a detailed narrative, but to us there is a great discrepancy between the story itself which seems to be quite simple and the result achieved by the telling of the story by the Master. The whole narrative gives no doubt plain facts, but it utterly fails to give us the details of the most inspiring influence issuing from the personality of the Master himself.

To give another example, soon after the Enlightenment Buddha was sitting in the woods when thirty villagers each accompanied by his wife were enjoying themselves. One of the young men, however, happened to be a bachelor and his friends managed to get a courtesan for him as his temporary wife. After giving themselves to recklessness they all fell asleep. When they awoke they discovered that the courtesan had carried away all the precious stones and expensive dresses. They searched for her in all directions, and coming to the Buddha they asked if he did not see the guilty woman. Said the Buddha, "Which is more important, the precious stones or the mind that seeks them?" When they answered that the mind was more important, Buddha gave them a discourse on the subject. When this was finished, the thirty young men all abandoning their wives became at once homeless monks under the Buddha. The sermon itself was quite simple but the wonderful result which was achieved surpasses the one recorded of any great historical personage. The sermon, whatever it might have been must have been most miraculous, most inspiring sort of music, which enrapturing every listener made him lose all the barriers of ordinary consciousness, directly looking into the inmost soul-fountain with its bubbling and gushing water. To depict this soul-effect, the plain narrations of the Hinayana style fail to do justice to the inner power beaming forth from the Buddha's sermon. The Agama writers give us only an imperfect notation of the celestial music.

When the Agamas are interpreted in this way, the texts are no more Hinayanistic but Mahayanistic. The Mahayana strives to catch the spirit that has been moving not only in the utterances of the Buddha but in his whole personality. This can never be described in words. It no doubt goes beyond them. But ours is to endeavour to catch this indescribable something in whatever form that is within human power, that is to say, the enlightenment attained by Buddha must be made to reveal its content somehow. It is no doubt mystical as it transcends our limited consciousness but it is also rational because it sees everything in its aspect of *tathatā* or *śūnyatā*. *Śūnyatā*, or emptiness is something we cannot take hold of, but at the same time it is something before us that makes existence possible, that is *dharmatā*.

We generally live in the world of ideas and think this is everything. But in fact it is a kind of material which like a heap of coal requires to be ignited. We have to come in contact with facts themselves, laws that govern them, that is, we are to acquaint ourselves with a definite arrangement of things which goes under the name, "cause and effect." This is scientific reasoning, corresponding to the Buddhist world of *tathatā* or suchness. This explains how and why Buddha never contradicted science and thoughts based on it.

Mahayana Buddhism, however, goes one step beyond this by declaring that all that is discoverable by man is subject to the law of relativity, that anything explainable with words is thought-construction having no permanency in it. This is the state of things as they are. Catch a fish and dissect it to find the life-principal in it according to the so-called scientific method; but the fish thus brought on the scientific table is a dead one. What is left in your hands is after all the shell of reality and not reality itself. The living fish must be studied as it moves and swims and leaps. The scientific method of study is, therefore, only one aspect of reality, and does not exhaust it. Its value is merely temporal.

To see reality as it is, as it lives, is the teaching of Buddha. To do this it teaches to leap, to leave science and intellection behind. When this leap is effected one is in the midst of reality, one gains a life of eternity. This is what is told by all those who have gone through the religious experience. By entering into the realm of suchness and reality the dualism of being and non-being, subject and object, reality and knowledge, existence and value, is altogether obliterated; we have jumped over the abyss, gone to the other side, but at the same time we are firmly standing on the very earth. The world originally neglected is affirmed once for all, this world of Samsara is not other than Nirvana.

This is the teaching and spirit of Mahayana Buddhism. In short the Mahayana teaches us to return into suchness though this is no other than the world of particular facts. Our ordinary consciousness is under the control of science and every form of intellection, but Mahayana Buddhism wants us to realise a world of oneness which is the world of suchness, transcending idealism and materialism, realism and conceptualism. Suchness, in other words, is emptiness beyond human intelligence and discrimination, as it is on the other end of reality. When this suchness is grasped the whole domain of reality reveals its significance in the human personality, which is known as the value of religious experience.

The above delineation of the spirit of Mahayana Buddhism may appear somewhat difficult to comprehend intellectually, but an analogy may be found in art, which will facilitate our understanding. In the *Avatamsaka sutra* we read that the artist does not know what he is painting, it grows out of himself, in spite of himself; he is moved or urged by something greater than himself; and what he does is no more than offering himself to the unconscious direction. To be a great artist, therefore, means that he is capable of offering himself as a more perfect and manageable instrument to a spirit. He does not try to analyse the spirit, he

simply gives himself up to its control. When something comes between artist and spirit there is no artistic creation, for the product is maimed. The artist in this sense is an emancipated person, "one who thus comes," or "one who thus departs," that is Tathāgata.

The spirit of Mahayana Buddhism may thus be summarised in one word, *tathatā* or suchness; and those who have realised this suchness in any field of life as either a statesman or an artist or a capitalist or as a working-man, he is a true follower of Mahayana Buddhism. He will build up his own world of suchness according to his own light in response to his environment. All that is specially considered religious—repentance, humility, gratitude, worship, and so on, will have its proper function as it is stirred in the bosom of a religious person. Without this grasp Mahayana Buddhism will not yield its secrets to anybody. No scientific study of Buddhism will penetrate into this inner sanctuary of Buddhism. And when this spirit of Mahayana Buddhism is understood the central force controlling the movements of Japanese culture will be seen in its significant aspect.

SHŪGAKU YAMABE

WHAT IS ZEN?

1

Is Zen a system of philosophy, as most of the Buddhist teachings are, highly intellectual and profoundly metaphysical?

As I stated somewhere else, we find in Zen all the philosophy of the East crystallised, but this ought not to be taken as meaning that Zen is a philosophy in its ordinary application of the term. For Zen is decidedly not a system founded upon logic and analysis. If anything, it is the antipode of logic and the dualistic method of thinking.

There may be an intellectual element in Zen, as Zen is the whole mind, and the mind is not a composite thing to be divided into so many faculties, leaving nothing behind after the dissection. Zen has nothing to teach us in the way of intellectual analysis. Nor has it any set doctrines which are imposed upon its followers. In this respect, Zen is quite chaotic, if you choose to say so. Probably the Zen followers may have one or another set of doctrine, but they have this on their own account, and for their own benefit, they do not owe the fact to Zen. Therefore, there are no sacred books or dogmatic tenets in Zen, nor are there any symbolic formulae through which an access might be gained into the signification of Zen. If I am asked what then Zen teaches, I would say that Zen teaches nothing. Whatever teachings there are in Zen, they come out of one's own mind. We teach ourselves. Zen merely points the way. Unless this pointing is teaching, there is certainly nothing in Zen purposely set up as its cardinal doctrines or as its fundamental philosophy.

Zen claims to be Buddhism, but all the Buddhist teachings as propounded in its sūtras and śāstras, are treated by Zen as mere waste paper whose utility consists in wiping out the dirt of intellect and nothing more. Do not imagine, therefore, that Zen is nihilism. All nihilism is self-destructive, it

ends nowhere. Negation is sound as method. The highest truth is in affirmation. When it is said that Zen has no philosophy, that it denies all doctrinal authority, that it casts aside all its so-called sacred literature as rubbish, we must not forget that Zen is holding up in this very act of negation something quite positive and eternally affirmative. This will be clearer later on.

2

Is Zen a religion? It is not a religion in the sense as the term is popularly understood. For there is in Zen no God to worship, no ceremonial rites to observe, no future abode where the dead are destined to, and last of all, no soul whose welfare is to be looked after by somebody else. Zen is free from all these dogmatic and "religious" encumbrances.

When I say that there is no God in Zen, the pious reader may be shocked; but this does not mean that Zen denies the existence of God. Neither denial nor affirmation concerns Zen. When a thing is denied, the very denial involves something not denied. The same can be said of affirmation. This is inevitable in logic. And Zen wants to rise above logic, Zen wants to find a higher affirmation where there are no antitheses. Therefore, in Zen God is neither denied nor insisted on, only that there is no such God in Zen as has been conceived by the Jewish or Christian minds. For the same reason that Zen is not a philosophy, it is not a religion.

As to all those images of various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and Devas and what not that one comes across in the Zen temple, they are so many pieces of wood or stone or metal, they are like the camellias, azalias, or stone-lanterns in my garden. Make obeisance to the camellia now in full bloom, and worship it as you like, Zen would say, and there is much religion here as bowing to the various Buddhist gods, or as sprinkling holy water, or as participating in the Lord's Supper.

All those pious deeds considered meritorious or sanctifying by most of the so-called religiously-minded people are artificialities in the eye of Zen. It boldly declares that "the immaculate mendicants do not enter Nirvana, and the precept-violating monks do not go to hell." This is, to ordinary minds, the contradiction of the common laws of moral life. But here lies the truth and life of Zen. Zen is the spirit of a man. It believes in his inner purity and goodness. Whatever is superadded or violently taken away, injures the completeness of the spirit. Zen is, therefore, emphatically against all religious conventionalism.

Its irreligion, however, is merely apparent. Those who are truly religious will be surprised to find that after all there is so much of religion in the barbarous declaration of Zen. But to say that Zen is a religion as Christianity, or Mahommedanism is, will be a mistake. To make my point clearer I quote the following: When Śakyamuni was born, it is said that he lifted one arm toward the heavens and pointed to the earth with the other, exclaiming, "Above the heavens and below the heavens, I only am the Honoured One!" On this Ummon (Wun-men), founder of the Ummon School of Zen, comments, "If I saw him do this at the moment, I would kill him with one blow and throw the corpse into the maws of hungry dogs." What unbelievers would ever think of saying such words of inhumanity over a spiritual leader! Yet, one of the Zen masters following Ummon says, "Indeed, this is the way Ummon desires to serve the world, sacrificing everything he has, body and mind! How grateful he must have felt for the love of Buddha!"

3

Zen is not to be confounded with a form of meditation, as "New Thought" people or Christian Scientists or Hindu Sannyasins meditate. Dhyāna, as it is understood by Zen, does not correspond to their meditation or contemplation.

A man may meditate on a religious or philosophical subject while disciplining himself in Zen, but that is only incidental; the essence of Zen is not at all there. Zen purposes to discipline the mind itself, to make it its own master, through an insight into its proper nature. This getting into the real nature of one's own mind or soul is the fundamental object of Zen Buddhism. Zen is, therefore, more than meditation or dhyāna in its ordinary application. The discipline of Zen consists in opening one's mental eye in order to look into the very reason of existence.

To meditate a man has to fix his thought on something, for instance, on the oneness of God, or his infinite love, or on the impermanence of things. But these are very things Zen desires to avoid. If there is anything Zen emphasises, it is freedom, freedom from all unnaturalness. Now meditation is something artificially put on, it does not belong to the native activity of the mind. What do the fowl in the air meditate? What do the fish in water meditate? They fly; they swim. Is that not enough? Who wants to fix his thought on the unity of God and man? or on the nothingness of this life? Who wants to be arrested in his daily manifestations of life-activity by such meditations as the goodness of a divine being or the ever-lasting fire of hell?

4

We may say that Christianity is monotheistic and Vedantism pantheistic; but we cannot make a similar assertion about Zen. For Zen is neither monotheistic nor pantheistic. Zen defies all such designations. Hence there is no object in Zen to fix one's thought on. Zen is a wafting cloud in the sky. No screw fastens it, no string holds it. It floats away as it lists. No amount of meditation will keep Zen in one fixed groove. Meditation is no Zen. Neither pantheism nor monotheism affords Zen with its subjects of concentration.

If Zen is monotheistic, it may tell its followers to

meditate on the oneness of things where all differences and inequalities, enveloped in the all-illuminating brightness of the divine light, are obliterated. But Zen would say, "After all things are reduced to oneness, where would that one be reduced?" Zen wants to have one's mind free and unobstructed; even the idea of oneness is a stumbling-block and a strangling snare which threatens the original freedom of the spirit.

Will Zen then concentrate itself on the idea that a dog is God or that this one pound of flax is divine? If so, Zen must feel fire cold and ice hot, because fire is ice and ice is fire. But when it freezes we shiver; and everybody shuns the blazing furnace; for the feeling is all in all and asserts itself in spite of all our theorisation. Zen in fact does not want us to be more than the flesh and bones. It refuses to deny the reality of matter and the individuality of things.

Whatever meditation Zen may propose then will be to take things as they are, to consider snow white and the raven black. When we speak of a meditation, we generally understand its abstract character; that is, meditation is known to be the concentration of the mind on some highly generalised proposition which is in the nature of things not always closely and directly connected with concrete affairs of life. Zen perceives or feels, and does not abstract or meditate. Zen penetrates and is finally lost in the immersion. Meditation, on the other hand, is outspokenly dualistic, and consequently inevitably superficial. One critic (Lloyd—*Wheat Among the Tares*, p. 53) regards Zen as "the Buddhist counterpart of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola." Lloyd shows an almost unbalanced inclination to find Christian analogies for things Buddhistic, and this is also one of such instances. Those who have gone carefully through what I have already stated about Zen, will at once see how wide of the mark his comparison is. Even superficially there is not a shadow of similitude between the exercises of Zen and those proposed by the founder of the Society

of Jesus. The contemplations and prayers of St. Ignatius are, from the Zen point of view, merely so many fabrications of the imagination elaborately woven for the benefit of the pious-minded. It is like piling up tiles after tiles over one's head. It may be, however, interesting to note that the Spiritual Exercises in some way resemble those meditations of Hīnayāna Buddhism, such as the Five Mind-quieting Ways, or the Nine Thoughts on Impurity, or Six or Ten Subjects of Thought.

5

Zen too frequently "means mind-murder and the emptiness of idle reverie." This is the statement of Griffis, author of *Religions of Japan* (p. 255). By "mind-murder" he means perhaps that Zen kills the activities of the mind by making one's thought fix on one thing, or by inducing it to sleep. Mr. Reischauer in his *Studies of Buddhism in Japan* (p. 118) almost endorses this view of Griffis by asserting that Zen is "mystical self-intoxication." Does he mean that Zen is intoxicated in the "Greater Self" so called, as Spinoza was intoxicated in God? Though Mr. Reischauer is not quite clear as to the meaning of "intoxication", he may think Zen is unduly absorbed in the thought of the "Greater Self" as the last reality in this world of particulars. It is wonderful to see how superficial some of the analytical observers of Zen are. The truth is: Zen is so elusive as far as its outward aspect is concerned. Unless one devotes some years of earnest study to the understanding of some of its primary principles, one cannot expect to have even a generally fair grasp of it. "The way to ascend to God is to descend into oneself" is Hugo's word. "If thou wishest to search out the deep things of God, search out the depths of thine own spirit,"—this comes from Richard of St. Victor. And Zen declares, though somewhat in a different spirit, "Nothing really exists throughout the triple world, and where do you seek the mind (or spirit=*Shin*)? The four elements are all

empty in their ultimate nature, and where could the Buddha's abode be?—But lo! the truth is unfolding itself right before your eye. This is all there is to it and nothing more!" A minute's hesitation, and Zen is irrevocably lost. All the Buddhas of the past, present, and future may try to make you catch it once more and yet it is a thousand miles away. "Mind-murder" and "Self-intoxication," Zen in fact has no time to bother itself with such nonsenses.

6

By "Self-intoxication" or "Mind-murdering" the critics may mean one's mind being hypnotised to a state of unconsciousness. When this obtains, they imagine that the favorite Buddhist doctrine of emptiness (*Śūnyatā*) is realised where the subject is not conscious of the objective world nor of himself, being lost in one vast emptiness, whatever this is. This hypothesis again does not hit Zen. It is true that there are some such expressions in Zen as will suggest this kind of interpretation. But to understand Zen we must go another step beyond. The "vast emptiness" must be traversed. The subject must be awakened from a state of consciousness if he is buried alive in it. Zen is encountered when "self-intoxicated" turns into the "self-awakened." If the mind is ever to be murdered, it is Zen that will resuscitate it. As long as one remains murdered and lifeless, there is no Zen. "Be born again," the Zen master would exclaim, "Be awakened from a dream, rise from death if you can, O ye drunkards! Don't try to see Zen with your blurred eyes. Your hands are too unsteady to take hold of Zen. And remember I am not indulging in figures of speech."

I may multiply such questions and criticisms if necessary. But the above, I hope, have sufficiently prepared the reader's mind for the following positive statements concerning Zen.

The basic idea of Zen is, to come in touch with the inner workings of the mind, and to do this in the directest possible

way without resorting to anything external and superadded. Therefore, everything having a semblance of authority is rejected. An absolute faith is placed in one's own being. Whatever authority there may be in Zen comes from within. This is true in the strictest sense of the word. Even the reasoning faculty is not considered absolute. On the contrary, it hinders the mind from coming in direct communion with itself. The intellect serves its mission when it works as an intermediary, and Zen has nothing to do with an intermediary except when it desires to communicate itself to others. For this reason, all the scriptures are merely tentative and provisionary, there is in them no finality. The central fact of life as it is lived is what Zen aims to grasp, and this in the most direct and most vital manner. Zen professes itself to be the spirit of Buddhism, but in fact it is the spirit of all religions and philosophies. For when Zen is understood thoroughly, absolute peace of mind is attained, and a man lives as he ought to live. What more may we hope?

7

Some say that inasmuch as Zen is admitted to be mysticism it cannot claim to be unique in the history of religion. Perhaps so. But Zen is a mysticism of its own order. It is mystical in the sense that the sun shines, that God loves, that the flower blooms, or that I hear at this moment somebody beating a drum in the street. If these are mystical facts, Zen is brimful of them. When a Zen master was asked what Zen was, he answered, "Your everyday thought." Is this not plain enough, and most straightforward? It has nothing to do with the sectarian spirit. Christians as well as Buddhists can practise Zen just as big fish and small are both contentedly living in the ocean. Zen is the ocean, Zen is the air, Zen is the mountains, Zen is thunder and lightning, the spring flower, summer heat, and winter snow; nay, more than that, Zen is the man. What-

ever formalities, conventionalisms, and superadditions Zen may appear to have, its central fact lives; and the special merit of Zen lies in this, that we are still able to see into this ultimate fact without being biased against anything.

8

As I said before, what makes Zen unique as it is practised in Japan, is its systematic training of the mind. If Zen is mysticism, mysticism has been too erratic a product and apart from one's ordinary life. This, Zen has revolutionised. What was up in the heavens, Zen has brought down on earth. With the development of Zen, mysticism has ceased to be mystical; it is no more the spasmodic product of an abnormally endowed mind. For Zen reveals itself in the most uninteresting and uneventful life of a plain man of the street, recognising the fact of living in the midst of life as it is lived. Zen systematically trains the mind to see this, opens one's eye to the greatest mystery as it is daily and hourly performed, enlarges one's heart to embrace eternity of time and infinity of space in its every movement, and makes one live in the world as if walking in the garden of Eden. All these spiritual feats are done without resorting to any set doctrines, but by appealing in the directest way to the truth of one's being, and there is a system in all this.

Whatever it may be, Zen is practical and commonplace and most living. An ancient master, wishing to show what Zen is, lifted one of his fingers, another kicked a ball, and a third slapped the face of the questioner. The manner in which Zen is demonstrated is always original. I take this creative originality as a foundation of Zen's claim to uniqueness. And in the freshness of this creative originality Zen has its own reason to be.

9

The following quotation from a letter of Yengo may

answer to a certain extent the question asked in the beginning of this chapter, "What is Zen?" "It is presented right to your face, and at the very moment the whole thing is handed over to you. For an intelligent fellow, one word suffices to convince him in the truth of it, but even then error has already crept in. Much more so when this is committed to paper and ink, or given up to wordy demonstration or to logical quibble; it recedes then farther away from you. The great truth of Zen, however, is possessed by everybody. Look into your own being, and seek it not through others. Your own mind is above all forms, it is free and quiet and sufficient, it eternally stamps itself in your six senses and your four elements. In its light all is absorbed. Hush the dualism of subject and object, forget both, transcend the intellect, sever yourself from the understanding, and directly penetrate deep into the identity of Buddha-mind; for outside of this there are no realities. Therefore then Dharma came from the West to this land, he simply declared, 'Directly pointing to one's own soul, my doctrine is unique, and is not hampered by the canonical teachings; it is the absolute transmission of the true seal. Zen has nothing to do with letters and words. It only requests to grasp the point directly and therein find your peaceful abode. When the mind is disturbed, the understanding is stirred, things are recognised, notions are entertained, ghostly spirits are conjured, and prejudices are unheld, Zen will then forever be lost in the maze.'

"Says Shekiso, 'Stop all your hankerings; let the mould grow over your lips; make yourself like unto one perfect piece of immaculate silk; let your one thought be eternity; let yourself be like dead ashes, cold and lifeless; again let yourself be like an old censer in a deserted village-shrine!' Putting your simple faith in this, discipline yourself accordingly, let your body and mind be turned into an inanimate object of nature like a stone or a piece of wood. When a state of perfect unawareness and motionlessness is obtained,

all the signs of life depart, and also every trace of limitation vanishes. Not a single idea is disturbed in your consciousness when, lo! all of a sudden you come to realise the light abounding in full gladness. It is like coming across a light in the thick of darkness, it is like having treasure in poverty. The four elements and the five aggregates are no more felt as burdens; so light, so easy, so free you are. [Your very existence has been delivered from all limitation.] You feel in body and mind so open, so light, and transparent. You gain an illuminating insight into the very nature of things which now appears to you as so many hallucinatory flowers having no graspable realities. And here is manifested the unsophisticated self (literally, original face) of your being, here is shown all bare the original landscape of your birthplace.

“There is but one straight passage open and unobstructed through and through. This is where you surrender all, your body, your life, and all that you claim to be belonging to your inmost self. This is where you gain peace, ease, non-doing, and inexpressible delight. All the sūtras, all the śāstras are no more than commentaries of this; all the sages, ancient as well as modern, have been exhausting their ingenuity and imagination to no other purpose than to point the way to this. It is like unlocking the door of a treasury. When the entrance is once gained, every object coming into your sight is yours, every opportunity that presents itself is available for your use; for are they not, however multitudinous, all possessions obtainable within the original being of your self? Every treasure there is but awaiting your pleasure and utilisation. This is what is meant by ‘once gained, eternally gained, even unto the end of time.’ Yet there is nothing gained, what you gain is really no gain, and yet there is something truly gained in this.”

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

THE GĀTHĀS OF THE DAŚABHŪMIKA-SŪTRA

EDITED BY JOHANNES RAHDER and SHINRYU SUSA

PRELIMINARY NOTES

The Daśabhūmika-sūtra consists of two sections, the prose and the verse. The prose section was edited and published by Dr Johannes Rahder in 1926; the present text contains the verse section under the joint editorship of Susa-and-Rahder.

When Dr Rahder was staying in Japan in 1929, he visited Kyoto during the summer and met Mr Hokei Idzumi, the then professor of Sanskrit at Otani Buddhist College. When Dr Rahder learned that I was also engaged in the study of the verse section of the *Daśabhūmika*, he suggested that we might work together so as to produce the best possible text with our resources. He added that he would send his manuscript as soon as ready, Surely enough, as he promised, it began to come in several sections to Professor D. T. Suzuki, editor of the *Eastern Buddhist*, early in 1931. He expressed the desire to see the text published in the *Eastern Buddhist* when I finished collating it with the result of my study. The verse section of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* here published is thus the joint labour of Dr Rahder and myself.

The following are to be noted in the reading of the Text:

1. The Rahder text has been prepared from these manuscripts: (1) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Sanscrit, Nos. 51 and 52; (2) Cambridge University Library, Add 867. 2 and Add 1618; (3) London, Royal Asiatic Society, Hodgson Collection, No. 3; (4) Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, B 45; (5) Katmandu, Royal Library, MS of 215 leaves, 38 cm × 10 cm, dated N. S. 967 (A.D. 1847).

R refers to the text thus prepared.

2. The Susa text (S) has been prepared from the MS in the Kyoto Imperial University Library (K) and one in the Tokyo Imperial University Library (T). Whenever S differs from R, this is carefully noted.

3. When S is adopted the other readings are noted under K, R, T.

4. When a correction is made in the text, this means that S has followed the Tibetan version, or that the Chinese versions are all in agreement, or that the metre requires it.

5. When R and S agree, sometimes no reference is made to T and K.

6. When R is adopted, K, T, or S is noted.

7. For the sake of the metre at the beginning of a line two short syllables are made to stand for one long syllable.

Students of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts have to congratulate themselves on the fact that the present edition of the verse section of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* is published with the co-operation of Dr Rahder who was able to make use of the several manuscripts kept in the European and the Indian libraries. If the task of editing were left to me, even with the aid of the one Tibetan and the five Chinese versions, my text prepared from the collation of only two manuscripts in Japan could not be of very great help to the students. I have also to thank Mr Hokei Idzumi for his kind suggestions on various points.

In order to facilitate the comparison of the two sections prose and verse in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, I have compiled the table following each Bhūmi, in which Dr Rahder's prose text is used with its divisions: A, B, C, etc. The tables so far do not extend beyond the fifth Bhūmi, the rest will be added when the whole text appears.

SHINRYU SUSA

THE TEXT

I. First Bhūmi, Final Gāthā.

¹te śukladharm'-upacitāḥ² kuśalopapetaḥ
 paryupāsitaḥ sugata maitra-kṛpānukūlāḥ |
 adhimukty-udāra³ kuśalāśaya-śuddhabhāvāś⁴
 cittam janenti atulam jinajñāna hetoḥ || 1 ||
 sarvajña-buddhabala-śodhana-vīryasthāmā⁵
 jinadharmanīṣpatti-jagatparitrāya-nārthāḥ |
 mahākṛpopacaya⁶ vartana-dharmacakram
 jinakṣetraśodham upapadyati⁷ cittaśreṣṭham || 2 ||
 tryadhvaikavikṣaṇa⁸-vibuddhana-nirvikalpā
 nānāvidhe⁹ jagati kāla viśodhanārtham |
 samkṣepa sarvaguṇa eṣitu¹⁰ nāyakānām
 akāśatulya samudeti udāracittam || 3 ||
 prajñādhīpatya kṛpā¹¹-pūrvam upāyayuktam¹²
 adhimukti-āśaya¹³-viśudha¹⁴-balāpramāṇam |
 āsaṅgata¹⁵-bhīmukhata¹⁶-apara-praṇeyam
 samatopapeta¹⁷-sugatam¹⁸ vara-citta-jātam¹⁹ || 4 ||
 saha-jāti-cittaratanam²⁰ sugatātma-jānam
 atikrānta bala-cari buddha-cari hy²¹ upetaḥ |
 jātaḥ²² kule daśabalāna anodyapadyaḥ²³
 samatām jine anugato niyatāgrabodhiḥ || 5 ||

¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka. [ta, bha, ja, ja, ga, ga]

² °dharmamupacitāḥ R. K. T. ³ adhimuktahāra K.T.
 adhimuktudāra R. ⁴ °vāḥ R.K.T. ⁵ vairiyasthāne K.
 °nā T. vīryasthānā R. prtan mthu can Tib. ⁶ mahākṛpāyavaya
 K.T mahākṛpāya ca pa R. ⁷ upapadya R. ⁸ tryadhvaikala
 (ra T.)kṣaṇa K.T. tryadhva-kala-kṣaṇa R. ⁹ °dhā K. °dha T.
¹⁰ eṣatu K.T. ¹¹ kṛta R.T. ¹² upāyacittam R. upāyayuktaḥ
 K.T. ¹³ adhimuktāśaya R. ¹⁴ °dhi K.T. ¹⁵ asaṅgata
 K.T. ¹⁶ °taḥ R. ¹⁷ samatopapatti K.T. ¹⁸ sugata
 R.K.T. ¹⁹ jānam K. jñānam R.T. bskyed Tib. ²⁰ °ratnam R.
²¹ caribhy R. ²² jāta R. yātaḥ T. ²³ anopapadyaḥ K.T.
 anapavadyaḥ R.

ekasmi citta¹ upapadyati bhūmilābho
 bhavate acalyu² giri-rāja-samāśayaś ca |
 prāmodya-prīti-bahulaś ca prasādavāṃś ca
 utsāha-vega-vipulaḥ³ sad⁴-udagra⁴-cittaḥ || 6 ||
 saṃprambha-hiṃsa-vigataś ca akrodhanaś ca
 hrī-gauravārjavataraś ca⁵ susaṃvṛtaś ca |
 jaga-tāyanam smarati apratimāna-jñānam
 prītim janety upagata sṛṇham eta sthānam || 7 ||
 pañcā⁶-bhayā apagataḥ saha-bhūmi-lābho⁷
 ājivikā-marāṇa-'kīrti atha⁸ durgatiś ca |
 paṇśad-bhayaṃ ca vigataṃ tatha cchambhitatvaṃ
 kiṃ kāraṇaṃ tatha⁹ hi ātma-niketu nāsti || 8 ||
 te cchambhitatva-vigataḥ kṛpa-maitra-yuktāḥ
 śraddhā¹⁰-sugaurava-hriyopagatā guṇādhyāḥ¹¹ |
 rātriṃ divaṃ kuśala-pakṣa-niṣevamāṇāḥ
 satyārtha¹²-dharma-niratā na tu kāma-bhogaiḥ || 9 ||
 śruta-dharma-cinta-kuśalā aniketa-cittā
 lābhād aśiccittagatā uta¹³-bodhicittāḥ¹⁴ |
 jñānābhilāṣi bala-śodhana-buddhadharmā¹⁵
 eṣanti pāramita varjita-māya-śāṭhyāḥ || 10 ||
 yathā-vādinā tatha-kriyāḥ¹⁶ sthita-satya-vākya¹⁷
 na tu dūṣaṇā jina-kule cari bodhi-śikṣām |
 loka-kriyāya vigatā niratā jagāṛthaṃ
 śuklāir atrpta¹⁸ bhumayottarim ārabhante || 11 ||
 te eva¹⁹ dharma-niratā guṇa-artha-yuktā

¹ ekasmi(ṇ) citta R. citta sa T. ² acalya- R.
³ olo R.K. ⁴ sadudagra R. mṛdurāga K. rtag par Tib.
⁵ tāś ca K. tāś ca T. ⁶ pañca R.K.T. [Me. --]
⁷ lābhe R. labhā T. ⁸ atha K.T. artha R. ⁹ tathā R.K.
¹⁰ sa° R. ¹¹ guṇādyāḥ R.T. ¹² satvārtha R.
¹³ gatāvuta R. lobhod aśi viṣa gatā K. lobhād aśi viṣa gatā T.
¹⁴ °cittā R. ¹⁵ °dharmāṃ R. ¹⁶ tathā-kārā R.T. tatha-
 kārā K. ¹⁷ vākya R. ¹⁸ bhū° R. tu° K.T. ¹⁹ te
 jeva R.

abhinirharanti prañidhiṃ jina-darśanāya |
 saddharma-dhāraṇ¹-upasaṃkramaṇā² ṛṣṇām
 abhinirharanti prañidhiṃ vara-cārikāyām || 12 ||
 paripāka-satva pariśodhana-buddha-kṣetraṃ
 te cāśya kṣetra sphuṭikā³ jina-au⁴rāsehi |
 ekāśaya jina-sutehi amoghatāyāḥ
 sarvatra vāla⁵-pathi buddhiya hetum arthe⁶ || 13 ||
 etāṃ⁷ ca naika-prañidhīn abhi⁸nirharanti
 te co⁹ ananta-vipulāya anantatāyā¹⁰ |
 ākāśa-dhātu¹¹-satva-dharmata-nirvṛtaṃ ca
 loko hy¹² aniṣṭha jinaṃ utpadi jñāna-bhūmī || 14 ||
 cittasya no viśaya-jñāna-praveśa-niṣṭhā
 yā vartani-trividha niṣṭha jagaty anantā |
 prañidhāna-niṣṭhītu¹³ bhaven na mamaivarūpā¹⁴
 yatha eta niṣṭha tatthe carya samā labheyam || 15 ||
 evaṃ sunirhṛta¹⁵ sumārdava-snigdha-cittāḥ
 śraddheta¹⁶ buddhagūṇa satva-vilokayantaḥ¹⁷ |
 pr(at)ityāntu-lambhupagataḥ¹⁸ kṛpa-maitratām ca
 paritāpitavya¹⁹ mayā satva-duḥkhārditāni || 16 ||
 teṣārthi tyāga-vividhaṃ puna²⁰ ārabhante
 rājyaṃ varaṃ vividha-ratna-hayān²¹ gajāṃś ca |
 śira-hasta-pāda-nayanā svakam ātma-māṃsaṃ
 sarvaṃ tyajanti na ca dīna-manā bhavanti || 17 ||

¹ dhāraṇ(u) K.T. dhāraṇam(u) R.

² °ṇa K.T. °ṇam R.

³ sphuṭā K. stutā T. paripūrṇa [Tib. Chin.]

⁴ jinau R.K.T.

⁵ bāla? cf. Vasubandhu's Commentary, Taisho ed. Vol. 28, p. 140 b.

⁶ hetu-sārthe R. hetumārthe K.T.

⁷ etās R.

⁸ 'naika-

prañidhībhi R. °dhibhi K.T.

⁹ ca R.K.T.

¹⁰ te

cāprameya-vipulāya anantatāyāi ?

¹¹ ananta R.K.T.

¹² lokebhy R.

¹³ °tva T.

¹⁴ bhavet mama-eva° R.

¹⁵ sunirhita K. śru° T.

¹⁶ śraddheya S.

¹⁷ satvabhi° R.T.

¹⁸ pr(at)ityāntu-°R. pratītya-samudbhava gataḥ Tib.

¹⁹ paritāpitavya K.

²⁰ tyāga-maha viduta R. °mata viduta K.

°mate vidute T. vividha tyāga punaḥ Tib.

²¹ hayāṃ R.

eṣanti śāstra-vividhān na ca khedam eti
 śāstrajña loka-caritāny anuvartayanti |
 lokajñatām upagatā hriyatā-dhṛtiṃ ca
 pūjyanti cāpratīsamān guru-gauraveṇa || 18 ||
 eṣābhīyukta-vidunā¹ diva-rātri-nityam
 uttapyate kuśala svarṇa yathaiva agnau |
 so² cāpi eva parikarma daśāna bhūmī
 kṛtvā asaṅgataṃ upeti aviṣṭhihantā³ || 19 ||
 yathā sārtha-vāha mahasārtha-hitāya yukto
 pucchitva⁴ mārga-guṇa kṣematam abhyupeti |
 evam eva bhūmī⁵-prathamāsthita-bodhisatvaḥ
 kṛta-niṣkramo daśabhi⁶ bodhim upety asaṅgaḥ || 20 ||
 atra sthitā⁷ guṇadharā⁸ nrpatī-bhavanti
 dharmānuśāsaka⁹-ahimsaka-maitra-yuktāḥ |
 jambūdhvajam sakala-rājya praśāsayantāḥ
 sthāpenti tyāgi janatām vara-buddha-jñāne || 21 ||
 ākāṅkṣamāṇa vṛṣabhī vijahitva rājyaṃ
 jina-śāsane upagataś cari ārabhantāḥ |
 labdhvā¹⁰ samādhi-śata¹¹ buddha-śataṃ ca paśyi
 kampenti¹² kṣetra-śatu bhāsi¹³ atikramanti || 22 ||
 śodhyanti satva-śata dharma-mukhān¹⁴ viśanti¹⁵
 praviśanti kalpa-śata¹⁶ kāya-śataṃ nidarsi |
 pūrṇam¹⁷ śataṃ jinasutāna nidarśayanti
 bhūyottari pranidhi-śreṣṭhi-balāpramāṇaḥ || 23 ||
¹⁸ity eṣā prathamā bhūmir¹⁹ nirdiṣṭā sugatātma-jāḥ |
 sarva-loka-hitaiṣiṇām bodhisatvāna 'nuttamāḥ²⁰ || 24 ||

¹ 'nām R.K.² de dag Tib.³ 'hamtā R.⁴ buddhitva K. vṛddhitva T. pṛcchitva S.⁵ bhūmya K.T.⁶ daśati K.T.⁷ 'to R.K.⁸ 'ro R.K.T.⁹ 'kā R.¹⁰ labdhā K.T.¹¹ śataṃ R. śatataḥ K.T.¹² kampanti

R.K.T.

¹³ asaṃ° R. sam.° K. asa° T.¹⁴ mukhe?¹⁵ vicinanti R. vinanti K.T. [Me, ---]¹⁶ śataṃ R.¹⁷ pūrṇa R.K.T.¹⁸ metre: Śloka.¹⁹ 'mi R.K.T.²⁰ 'mā R.T.

Bhūmi I

| Prose | Gāthā | Prose | Gāthā |
|-----------|-------|--------------|------------|
| A—Q | | | |
| (P. 11) R | 1 | (P. 14) DD | { a } b |
| S | 2 | EE } FF } | c |
| | 3 | (P. 15) GG | d |
| | 4 | HH | a |
| T | 5 | II | b |
| U | 6 | JJ | c |
| | 7 | (P. 16) KK } | d |
| (P. 12) V | 8 | LL | a |
| | 9 | MM | b |
| W } | 10 | (P. 17) NN | c |
| X } | 11 | | d |
| Y | 12 | OO | a |
| (P. 13) Z | 13 | PP | b |
| AA | 14 | QQ } | c |
| | 15 | (P. 18) RR } | d |
| BB | 16 | SS | a |
| | 17 | TT | b |
| | 18 | (P. 19) UU | c |
| | 19 | VV | d |
| | 20 | (P. 20) WW | a |
| | 21 | | b |
| | 22 | (P. 21) XX | c |
| | 23 | | d |
| | 24 | (P. 22) YY | a |

II. Second Bhūmi, Initial Gāthā

¹śrutvaitad uttamaṃ sthānaṃ bhūmyāḥ² śreṣṭhaṃ manora-
mamam |

prasanna-mana³-saṃkalpa⁴ harṣitāḥ sugatātma-jāḥ⁵ || 1 ||
abhyutthitā āsanebhya⁶ abhyudgamyā khaga-pathe |
abhyākiranti kusumaiḥ sādhu itī girā⁷ vyāharī || 2 ||
sādhu sādhu mahāprājña vajragarbha viśārada |
yan nirdiṣṭa tvayā bhūmi bodhisatvāna yā carī⁸ || 3 ||
parśad dhi viprasannā tu vimukticandraḥ prcchati⁹
uttariṃ kīrttiyā bhūmiṃ dvitīyaṃ sugatātma-jāḥ || 4 ||
kīdrśā mana-saṃkalpā dvitīyaṃ abhilakṣataḥ¹⁰ |
pravyāhara mahāprājña śrotu-kāmā jīnātma-jāḥ¹¹ || 5 ||

II. Final Gāthā

¹²te mārda-vārjava-mṛdū¹³-karmanīya-cittāḥ
kalyāṇa-āśaya damāśayatābhyupetaḥ |
saṃsarga-¹⁴pekṣa-vigatāś ca udāra-buddhi
māhātmya-āśaya-vidu ¹⁵dvitīyākramanti || 6 ||
atra sthitā guṇadharāḥ¹⁰ kuśalopapetaḥ
prāṇatipāta-vigatā avihimsa-cittāḥ¹⁷ |
adattadānapagatāḥ paradāratām¹⁸ ca
satyānvitā apiśunāḥ parusa-prahīnāḥ¹⁹ || 7 ||
parabhogabhidhya-vigatā vidu²¹ maitra-cittāḥ
samyakpathe upagatā aśaṭhū²¹-jñakāś ca |
nirmāṇa-kāya-gahanāś ca su-peśalāś ca

¹ metre: Śloka.

² bhūmyā K.T.

³ manaḥ R.

⁴ kalpā K.T.

⁵ jā R.

⁶ bhyāḥ K.

⁷ bhyo T.

⁸ giru

(giras) S.

⁹ carī K.T.

¹⁰ praprcchati T.

¹¹ lakṣitaḥ K.

lakṣaḥ T. lakṣaṇam S.

¹² jā R.

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

¹⁴ mṛdū R.

¹⁵ vekṣa K.T. [pe=pre]

¹⁶ dvitī R.K.T.

[Me. ~ ~]

¹⁷ rā R.

¹⁸ cittā R.

¹⁹ tā ca R.

²⁰ prahāṇāḥ K.T. Tib.

²¹ parabhogatābhidhyu-vigatā R.

parabhogatā vidu T.

²² aśaṭha S.

rakṣanti¹ śāsta²-caraṇaṃ sada apramattāḥ || 8 ||
 duḥkhāni yāni niraye tatha tiryagyonau
 yama-śāsane jvalita-āśraya³-nityupetāḥ |
 sarve ti pāpa⁴-patitā 'kṣalāḥ prabhonti
 hantā vivarjiya⁵ upemahi satya-dharmam || 9 ||
 ādau ca kṛtvā manu-jānupapattim iṣṭāṃ
 yāvad bhavāgram araṇśaya-dhyānu-śikṣam⁶ |
 pratyekayānam atha śrāvaka-buddha-yānam
 sarve⁷ ito daśabhi⁸ śukla-pathaiḥ prabhūtam || 10 ||
 evaṃ viditva satataṃ vidu apramattāḥ
 śīleṣu samsthita⁹ parān api sthāpayanti |
 bhūyottare¹⁰ karuṇa-āśayatābhyupetāḥ
 satvān viditva dukhitān¹¹ kṛpa samjananti || 11 ||
 hanto vidrṣṭi-patitā imi bala-buddhī
 krodhopanāha-druta-citta vivāda-prāptāḥ¹² |
 satataṃ atrpta¹³ viṣaye bhuyu¹⁴ prārthayanti
 trinidāna-satva parimocayitavya¹⁵ ete || 12 ||
 maha-andhakāra¹⁶-tamasāvṛta moha-cchannāḥ
 kāntāra-mārga-patitā maha-drṣṭi-jāle |
 saṃsāra-pañjara-gatā¹⁷ ripu dharṣayanti
 mokṣāṃ yamaṃ¹⁸ namuci-pañjara-madhya-prāptān || 13 ||
 kleśormibhi hriyata ogha-çatur-nimagnā
 traidhātuke dukha¹⁹-śataiḥ paripīḍyamānāḥ |
 skandhālayābhyupagatāvṛta²¹ ātmasamjñā
 teṣārthi yūjyami ahaṃ duḥkha-mocanārtham || 14 ||

¹ vadanti (vandanti) K.T.

² śāstr K.

³ jvalitamāśraya K. jvalitāśraya R.

⁴ (a)ti-pāpa S.

⁵ vivarjita K.

⁶ śokṣam K.T. bde-ba (kṣema) Tib. 樂 chin.

⁷ sarva K. sarvam T.

⁸ daśabhiḥ R.K.T. [Me. ~ ~ ~]

⁹ °sthitaḥ R

¹⁰ °reṣu T.

¹¹ duḥkhitān R.K.T.

¹² prāptāḥ R.

¹³ sada 'trptaḥ tu R.

¹⁴ bhūyu R. [Me.

~ ~] ¹⁵ parimocitavya R.T.

¹⁶ mahāṃdhakāra R.

¹⁷ gata R.K.T.

¹⁸ mokṣāmi 'haṃ R.

¹⁹ °ka duḥkha R.T.

²⁰ °gatā vata ta R.T.

avasrjya śreṣṭha-pravaraṃ¹ ima buddha-jñānam²
 sati eva³ nihsaraṇi⁴ hīna-matiṃ⁵ janenti |
 sthāpemi tān vimalajñāni⁶ tathāgatānāṃ
 vīryārabhanti atulaṃ vidu bodhi-hetoḥ || 15 ||
 atra sthitā guṇa-śatopacitā maharṣiḥ
 paśyanti naika-sugatān api pūjayanti |
 teṣāṃ śubhaṃ bhuyu uttapyati kalpa-kotyaṃ⁷
 kāsisa kāñcana-varaṃ ca yathā nikṣiptam || 16 ||
 atra sthitā jinasutā nṛpa-cakravartī⁸
 bhūtvā prañenti daśabhiḥ kuśalebhi satvān |
 yaccaiva saṃci⁹ śubha-saṃcaya saṃcinanti
 trātā bhavema jagato daśabhir balāḍhyaiḥ¹⁰ || 17 ||
 akāṅkṣamāṇa vijahitva ca rāja-bhogān
 pravrajya śāsana¹¹-vare upagamya dhīraḥ |
 vīryānvitā labhiya śreṣṭha-varaṃ samādhiṃ
 buddhā sahasra-paripūrṇa kṣaṇe dṛśanti || 18 ||
 evaṃvidhā¹²-gāṇanayā bhuyu anya 'nekā¹³
 ādarśayanti vṛṣabhiḥ sthita atra bhūmau |
 ata uttari praṇidhi-jñāna¹⁴-varābhyupetā¹⁵
 naikā¹⁶-vikurvita-vidhau vinayanti satvān || 19 ||
¹⁷ity eṣā ¹⁸dvitīyā bhūmir nirdiṣṭā sugatātma-jāḥ |
 sarva-loka-hitaiḥ jñāṇaṃ bodhisatvāna 'nuttamāḥ¹⁹ || 20 ||

¹ °vara R.² buddha-yānam K.P2.³ satyaiva R.K.⁴ °ne K.T. °ṇa R.⁵ hīnam abhi° R.⁶ °jñāne R.⁷ °jñāna K.T.⁷ koṭyāḥ K.T. koṭyāḥ R.⁸ °vartī K.⁹ varttiḥ T.⁹ kimci?¹⁰ balāḍhyā K. balādyā T. balebhyo R. 斯富十種力(漸)¹¹ śāsane R. śāsani?¹² °vidha R.¹³ anye nyekā R.¹³ āsanekā K. anekā T.¹⁴ balā° K. Chin.¹⁵ °upetāḥ R.¹⁶ naika R.T.¹⁷ Metre: Śloka.¹⁸ dvitī° R.K. [Me. ~ ~]¹⁹ °mā R.

Bhūmi II

| Prose | Gāthā | Prose | Gāthā |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
| | 1—5 | (P. 27) R | |
| (P. 22) A | 6 | S | { a } b |
| (P. 23) B | { a } b | T | { c } d |
| C | c } 7 | U | a |
| D | | V | b |
| E | | (P. 28) W | c |
| (P. 24) F | d | X | d |
| G | | Y | { a } b |
| H | | Z | { c } d |
| I | a | AA | a |
| (P. 25) J | b | (P. 29) BB | b |
| K | c | CC | c |
| | d | DD | d |
| L | 9 | | 15 |
| M | { a } b | | 16 |
| (P. 26) N | c | EE | 17 |
| O | d } 10 | | 18 |
| P | | | 19 |
| Q | | | 20 |

III. Third Bhūmi, Initial Gāthā.

¹ evaṃ śruṇitva² cari-bhūmim³ uttamāṃ
 bodhisatva-viṣaye acintiyāṃ |
 harṣitā jinasutāḥ sagauravāḥ
 puṣpa-megha nabhataḥ pramuñciṣuḥ⁴ || 1 ||
 sādhu sādhu giri-sāra-sākayā⁵
 deśito⁶ viduna śīla-saṃvaraḥ |
 sarva-satva-karuṇāya āśayo

¹ Metre: rathoddhatā, [ra, na, ra, la, ga.]² śruṇitvā R.³ bodhim K.T.⁴ pramuñciṣu K.⁵ giri sārāsa kayā S.⁶ °tā K.T.

bhūmi-śreṣṭha-dviti¹yāya gocaraḥ || 2 ||
 bhūta-tatvavitathā² ananyathā²
 bodhisatva-caraṇaṃ manoramam |
 sarvaloka-hita-saukhya-cintanā³
 deśitaṃ tu parama-prabhāsvaram || 3 ||
 bhūyu bhūyu nara-deva-pūjitaṃ⁴
 bhūmi⁵-śreṣṭha-⁶tṛtiyām udāhara |
 dharma-jñāna-kriya mukti sūcaya⁷
 yādṛṣo 'nubhava tadṛ(ṣo) gocaraḥ || 4 ||⁸
 dāna-śīla-caraṇaṃ maharṣiṇām
 kṣānti-vīrya-śama-prajñ'-u⁹pāyatām |
 maitra-śreṣṭha-karuṇāya mārgaṇaṃ
 bhāṣadhvaṃ jinacari-viśodhanam || 5 ||
 vimukticandra uvāca¹⁰ vajragarbha-viśaradam |
 tṛtiya-saṃkramantānām¹¹ āśayaṃ bhāṇa sūraṇa¹² || 6 ||

III. Final Gāthā.

¹³te śuddha¹⁴-āśaya guṇākara tikṣṇa-cittā
 nirviṇṇa-rāgavigatā¹⁵ anivartiyās ca |
 dṛḍha¹⁶-citta tapta-dhṛti-yukti¹⁷ udāra-vegā¹⁸
 mātātmyatāśaya-vidū¹⁹ tṛtiyākramanti || 7 ||
 atra²¹ sthitā vidva prabhākari-bhūmi-deśe
 duḥkhaṃ²¹ anityam asuciṃ ca pralopa-dharṇam |

¹ dviti R.K.T. [Me. ~ ~] ² 'yatham S. ³ cittaṇā K.T.
 cittayā or cintayā ? ⁴ 'taṃ K. 'tā T. 'ta ? ⁵ 'mi R.
⁶ tṛti° R.K.T. [Me. ~ ~] ⁷ dharma-jñāna-kriyām ukti sūcanā R.
 'kṛyamukti sūcanā K. 'kṛyāmukti sūcano T. ⁸ yādṛṣo nu
 bhavas tada gocaraḥ || 4 || R. 'bhava tadāgama gocaraḥ K. 'nubhava
 tu dāma gocaraḥ T. ⁹ prajñō R. prajña K.T. ¹⁰ punar-uvāca
 K.T. ¹¹ saṃkramatānām R.K.T. ¹² surata K. sūrata T. sūratam
 S. [柔和心 Chin.] ¹³ Metre : Vasantatilaka. ¹⁴ śraddha K.
 (六十經) śuddhā R. ¹⁵ nirvāṇānurāga(ya)tā K. nirviṇṇānu
 rāga-yatā R. skyo-shiñ ḥdod-chags-bral-te Tib. ¹⁶ dṛḍhā R.
¹⁷ tapta-dhṛtiyu R. ¹⁸ vegāḥ R.K.T. ¹⁹ tṛti° R.K.T.
²⁰ tyatra R. ²¹ duḥkham R

acira-sthitāka kṣāṇikam ca nirodhakam ca¹
 vicinanti saṃskṛta-gatikam anāgatikam² || 8 ||
 te roga-bhūta saha-śoka-pardevanam³ ca
 sopāyasam ca priya-apriyatānubaddham |
 duḥkha-daurmanasya⁴-nilayam⁵ jvalitāgni-kalpam
 paśyanti⁶ saṃskṛtam ananta samujjvalanti⁷ || 9 ||
 udvigna sarva-tribhave anapekṣa-cittā
 jñānābhilāṣa sugatānam ananya-buddhiḥ⁸ |
 avicintiyam⁹ atuliyam¹⁰ asamantapāram¹¹
 sampāśyate nirupatāpa jināna jñānam || 10 ||
 te buddha-jñāna-nirupadravam ikṣamāṇā¹²
 atrāna¹³-nātha-rahitā vrajate caranti¹⁴ |
 nityam daridra tribhir agnibhi sampradīptā
 bhava-cārake dukha¹⁵-śatair vinibaddha-cittāḥ || 11 ||
 kleśāvṛtāś ca avilokana¹⁶-cchanda-hināḥ
 sugatāna dharma-ratanānu¹⁷prapaṣṭa-bālāḥ |
 saṃsāra-srota-anuvāhina mokṣa-trastā
 me¹⁸ trāyitavya dṛḍha-vīrya samārabhante || 12 ||
 jñānābhilāṣa anapekṣa jagārtha-cārī
 vyuparīkṣate katama hetu jagasya mokṣe¹⁹ |
 nānyatra nāvaraṇa-jñāna tathāgatānām²⁰
 jñānam ca prajñā-prabhavam sugatāna 'nantam || 13 ||
 prajñā śrutāt tu²¹ iti cintayi bodhisatvo
 jñātvā tam ārabhati vīrya śrutārtha-cārī |
 rātriṃ divam śravaṇa-hetu ananya-karmā
 arthārthiko bhavati dharma-parāyaṇaś ca || 14 ||

¹ nirāhakam R.K. ² 'gati anāgatikam R. ³ paridravam
 K. P. T. paridevam R. [Me. ---] ⁴ manasya R.
⁵ nirayam T. ⁶ paśyati R. ⁷ samuccalanti K. samujjalam
 ti R. ⁸ buddhiḥ T. ⁹ 'tāyam K.T. 'tiyam R. ¹⁰ 'yam
 R. ¹¹ 'ram R. ¹² 'mānāḥ R. ¹³ atrāne R.
¹⁴ vipramocanārtham Tib 懸衆生 Chin. ¹⁵ duḥkha R.K.T.
¹⁶ avalokana R.K.T. ¹⁷ ratana R. ¹⁸ mapi (mayi?) K.T.
 mayā Tib. ¹⁹ mokṣa K.T. ²⁰ jñānatayā gatānām K.
 jñānatayā sugatānām R. ²¹ śrutāttu R. śubhātta K. sūtā tu T.

maṇi-mukti-ratna-nilayān¹ priya-bān²dhavāms ca
 rājyaṃ ananta vividhān³ purasthāna⁴-śreṣṭhān⁵ |
 bhāryā-sutāms ca parivāra-mano 'nukūlan⁶
 anapekṣa⁷-cintu⁸ tyajate vidu dharma-hetoh || 15 ||
 śira-hasta-pāda⁹-nayanā svakam ātma-māṃsam
 jihvā ca daṃṣṭra¹⁰-śrava-nāsika-śonitam¹¹ ca |
 hrdayaṃ t'upādya¹² priya-majja parityajanti
 nā duṣkaretam¹³ atha duṣkara yac chṛṇoti || 16 ||
 yadi kāścid enam upagamya¹⁴ vadeyya evaṃ
 yadi agni-garbha prapate¹⁵ jvalitāpi ghoram |
 prāpiṣya¹⁶ dharma-ratanam sugatopaniṭam
 śrutvā adīna-manasaḥ prapate guṇārthi || 17 ||
 ekasya dharma-pada artha sumeru-mūrdhnā¹⁷
 trisaḥsra¹⁸ agni-rucitam api brahmalokāt¹⁹ |
 sūdurlabhā²⁰ imi jinasya²¹ udāra-bodhir
 ye²² mānuṣyeṇa sukha²³ labhyati evarūpam || 18 ||
 yāvattareṇa pavararṣina²⁴ jñāna-lābhas
 tāvattaram dukham²⁵ avīcikam utsahāmi |
 kiṃ vā²⁶ punar vividha-mānuṣa-duḥkha-skandham
 hantābhyupemi²⁷ vara-dharmi-padārthi duḥkham || 19 ||
 dharmam ca śrutva puna yoniṣu²⁸ cintayāti
 dhyānāpramāṇa-²⁹caturaś ca tathā arūpyā |
 pañcāpy ābhijñā-pravarā abhinirharanti
 nā cāpi teṣu³⁰ vasitā upapadya yāti || 20 ||
 atra sthitā guṇadharā bahu-buddha-koṭyaḥ

¹ 'yām R. ² 'bam R. ³ 'dhām R. ⁴ purasphīta K.
⁵ 'ṭhām R. ⁶ 'kūlā R. ⁷ anavekṣa K. 'napekṣu R.
⁸ citta K. ⁹ śira-pāda-hasta R. ¹⁰ 'ṣṭrā R.K.T. ¹¹ sonitam
 R.K.T. ¹² tu nādyā K. upādya T. ¹³ duṣkarai(re K.)
 nam T. ¹⁴ kaścid en'upagamya R. kaścid anupagamya K.T.
¹⁵ patita K. pate R. ¹⁶ prāpiṣya K.T. ¹⁷ mūrdhā R.T.
¹⁸ 'sri K.T. ¹⁹ brahmalokāt api R.T. ²⁰ durlabhā R.K.T.
²¹ jñānām ca R. ²² ya R. ²³ sukham R.
²⁴ parikaṣṣina K.T. ²⁵ duḥkham R.K. duḥkhag T. ²⁶ cā T.
²⁷ 'upesī R.K.T. ²⁸ punar yoniṣu R. 'yāniṣu K. Left out in T.
²⁹ 'ṇaś ca° R.K. ³⁰ teṣa K.T.

pūjyanti niścita-manā śṛṇuvanti dharmam |
 tanubhūtvā¹ mithyapagataḥ pariśuddhayanti
 svarṇe yathā vigata-doṣa pramāṇa-tulyam || 21 ||
 atra sthitā guṇadharās tridaśādhipatyam
 kārenti² īśvara nivartitu kāma-rāgāḥ |
 maru³-saṃgha-neka-vividhān⁴ kuśalāna⁵ mārga
 sthāpenty⁶ ananya-mana-buddha-guṇābhilāṣe || 22 ||
 atra sthitā jinasutā⁷ viriyārabhante
 labdhvā samādhina sahasra-śataṃ⁸ anūnam |
 paśyanti buddha-vara-lakṣaṇa-citri-gātrām
 bhūyo ataḥ⁹ praṇidhi-śreṣṭha-guṇāpramāṇāḥ || 23 ||
¹⁰ity eśā tṛtīyā¹¹ bhūmir nirdiṣṭa sugatātmajaḥ |
 sarvaloka-hitaiṣiṇaṃ bodhisatvāna 'nuttamā || 24 ||

Bhūmi III

| Prose | Gāthā | Prose | Gāthā |
|-----------------|-------|-----------------|--------|
| | 1—6 | | 15 |
| (P. 30) A | 7 | | 16 |
| (P. 31) B | 8 | J | 17 |
| C | 9 | | 18 |
| D | 10 | | 19 |
| E | 11 | (P. 33) K | { a } |
| | { a } | (P. 34) L | { b } |
| | { b } | M | { c } |
| | { c } | | { d } |
| (P. 32) F | d } | (P. 36) N | { a } |
| G | { a } | | { b } |
| | { b } | O | { c } |
| H | { c } | | { d } |
| | { d } | (P. 37) P | { 22 } |
| | a | | { 23 } |
| | { b } | | 24 |
| I | { c } | | |
| | { d } | | |

¹ tanubhū R. cf. Mahāvvyutpatti, ed. Wogihara, section 50, No. 5

² kārayanti T. kārenti R. ³ manu T. (唐譯) ⁴ °dhām R.

⁵ kuśala- R. ⁶ sthāpyanti R.T. ⁷ viniyā° K. vinayā° T.

⁸ śataṃ R. [~ -] ⁹ ata R. ¹⁰ Metre : Śloka. ¹¹ tṛtīyā R.K.T.

IV. Fourth Bhūmi, Initial Gāthā.

¹evaṃ śruṇitva caraṇaṃ vipulaṃ
 bhūmy-uttamaṃ manu-ramaṃ pravaram² |
 saṃharṣitā³ jinasutāttamanā⁴
 abhyo⁵kiranti kusumbhi jinaṃ || 1 ||
 saṃkampitā lavaṇa-toya-dharā⁶
 iha⁷ dharmadeśanam udīrayatām⁸ |
 marukanyakā abhimano-rucirāḥ⁹
 saṃgīti-yukta¹⁰-varadharma-ratāḥ¹¹ || 2 ||
 vaśavartī devapatir āttamanā
 maṇi-ratna-divya sugatasya kṣipī |
 vācam¹² abhāṣi atha eva¹³ jino
 utpanna artha guṇa-pāra-gato || 3 ||
 kiṃ kāraṇaṃ tatha hi¹⁴ dharmavaraṃ
 saṃbodhisatva-¹⁵carāṇaṃ paramam |
 bhūmir vidūna¹⁶ iyaṃ adya śrutā
 yasyā śravo durlabha kalpaśataih || 4 ||
 bhūyaḥ prabhāṣa naradeva-hita
 caryāvaraṃ jinasutāna vidū |
 śroṣyanti te¹⁷ maruta saṃgha-gaṇā
 bhūtaṃ viniścayaṃ ananya-padam || 5 ||
¹⁸vimukticandraḥ punar vīro ālapī¹⁹ sugatātmanajam |
 caturthī-saṃkramantānāṃ gocaraṃ bhāṇa uttamam || 6 ||

¹ Metre : [ta, bha, ja, la, ga.] ² bhūmyā vibhū-mana-rajita-
 varam | R. bhūmyā vibhu (mibhū T.) mina-racita-pravaraṃ K.T. sa
 mehog dam-pa yid-ḥon phul-gyi Tib. ³ sahāyino R. sahayito K.
 sahamitā T. sin-tu-mgu-gyur Tib. ⁴ °manāḥ R.K. °manāṃ T.
⁵ abhyā R.K. ⁶ dharāḥ R. ⁷ saha R. ⁸ udīritam R.
⁹ °kābhi manu-rucirā R. °kābhi manu-ruvinā K. °kābhi manu
 garuvirā T. yid-ḥon sñan-paḥi Tib. ¹⁰ yukta R.T. ¹¹ ratā
 R.K.T. ¹² vācam R.K. ¹³ atha-r-eva R.K. artha vada T.
¹⁴ satvehi R. tathā hi K.T. ¹⁵ cā° R. ¹⁶ vidūna R.T.
 vidūra K. ¹⁷ me K. ma T. ime Tib. ¹⁸ Metre : Śloka.
¹⁹ ālapī R. āsapī K. ālayī T.

IV. Final Gāthā.

'parikarmitā tṛtiyā² bhūmi prabhaṃkarāyā
 satvacarya loka tatha dharma vicāryamāṇaḥ |
 ākāśadhātu manadhātu trayaś ca dhātu
 adhimukti³-āśaya-vīśuddhi samākramanti || 7 ||
 sahaprāptu arciṣmati-bhūmi mahānubhāvaḥ
 samvṛttu śāstu-kuli bhūyu 'vivartiyatve |
 abhedyā buddha-ratane tatha dharma-saṃghe
 udaya-vyaya-sthiti-nirihaka prekṣamāṇaḥ || 8 ||
 loka-pravṛtti-kriya-karma-bhavopapattiṃ⁴
 saṃsāra-nirvṛti-vibhāvāna kṣetra-satvān |
 dharmāc ca pūrvam aparānta kṣayānutpādaṃ⁵
 samvṛttu bhāvayati śāstu-kulānuvartī || 9 ||
 so⁶ eṣu-dharmu⁷-samupetu hitānukampī
 bhāveti kāyam api vedana-citta-dharmān⁸ |
 adhyātma-bāhyubhayathā vidu bhāvayāti
 smṛtyopasthāna-bhāvāna-niketa-varjitā⁹ || 10 ||
 pāpa-kṣayāt kuśala-dharma-vivardhitā ca
 samyakprahāṇa¹⁰-caturo vidu bhāvayanti |
 catu-rddhipāda¹¹-bala-indriya bhāvayanti
 bodhyaṅga-ratna-ruciraṃ tatha mārgaśreṣṭham || 11 ||
 bhāventi¹² tāñ janayatāṃ¹³ samavekṣya buddhim
 upastambhayanti¹⁴ prañidhiṃ kṛta¹⁵-pūrva-maitrāḥ |
 sarvajñajñānam abhiprārthana buddha-kṣetraṃ¹⁶
 bala-śreṣṭham uttama-pathaṃ¹⁷ anucintayantaḥ || 12 ||

¹ Metre : Vasantatilaka.² tṛtiyā R.K.T. [Me. — — —]³ mukty R.⁴ °papatti R.K. papatti T.⁵ kṣayānu(t)

pādam R.

⁶ sa R.T. de dag(te)Tib.⁷ eṣa-dharma K.T.⁸ dharmā R.K.T.⁹ smṛtyopasthāna-bhāvāna-niketa-vivarjitāni K.

smṛtyopasthāna-vana-miketa-vivarjitāni T.

smṛtyopasthāna niketa

vivarjitāni ?

¹⁰ °pradhāna R.K. prañidhāna T. cf. Mahāvīyutpatti,

ed. Sakaki, N. 957.

¹¹ caturddhipāda R.¹² bhāvayanti R.

bhāvanti K.T.

¹³ janatāṃ R.K.T. [Me. — — —]¹⁴ °bhenti R.¹⁵ kṛpa S. sññ brtse byams pa sññ Tib.¹⁶ °tram R.¹⁷ pathānu R.

vaiśāradam¹ api ca dharma-ahārya² śāstuh
 vara-buddha-ghoṣam abhiprārthayamāna³ dhīraḥ |
 gambhīra-mārga-ratanam ca vimokṣa-sthānam⁴
 mahatām upāya⁵ samudāgama bhāvayanti || 13 ||
 satkāyadr̥ṣṭi-vigatāś ca diviṣaṣṭi-dr̥ṣṭi
 attāttamiya⁶-vigatāś tatha jīva-lābham |
 skandhās tu dvāra⁷ tatha dhātu-niketa-sthānam⁸
 sarva-prahīṇa viduṣam⁹ catuthāya bhūmyām || 14 ||
 so yānimāṇi sugatena vivarṇitāni
 karmāṇi kleśa-sahajāni anarthakāṇi |
 tāni prahāya vidu āśayato¹⁰ viśuddhā
¹¹dharmarabhanti kuśalam jagatāyanārtham¹² || 15 ||
 susnigdha¹³-citta-bhavato vidu apramatto
 mṛdu-cittu sārjava¹⁴ hitā¹⁵-sukha-āvahavaś ca
 aparikliṣṭaś ca¹⁶ parimārgati uttamārtham
 jñānabhīṣekam¹⁷ abhilāṣi jagārthacārī || 16 ||
 guru-gauraveṣupagataḥ pratipatti-kāmo¹⁸
 bhavate kṛtajña sumanāś ca¹⁹ akūhakaś²⁰ ca |
 nirmāyatāgahana²¹ āśaya-sūrataś²² ca
 avivartya-vīrya bhavate samudāyanantaḥ²³ || 17 ||
 tasyātra²⁴ bhūmi-rucirāya pratiṣṭhitasya
 adhyāśayam²⁵ api ca śuddham²⁶ upeti dharmam |

¹ °dam R. ² dharmāsaṃbhārya R. dharma asaṃbhārya T.
 Left out in K. [Me. --|---] ³ °themāna R. ⁴ °nam R.
⁵ mahantupāya- R. mahatān upāya T. ⁶ ātmātmiya K.T.
⁷ āyatana Tib. ⁸ °nam R. ⁹ vidunā Tib. ¹⁰ āśayata
 K.T. khoṇ-nas Tib. ¹¹ karma Tib. Chin. ¹² jagatrāyanā(ṇa)
 T. ¹³ sinigdha R. [Me. ---] ¹⁴ mṛdu-sārjava R. mṛdu-
 mārda(de T.)va K. [Me. ---|---] mṛdu-mārdava-cittaḥ Tib.
¹⁵ hita R.K. hitaḥ T. ¹⁶ aparikliṣṭu R. °kilistra K. °kiriṣṭa T.
 [Me. ---|---] ¹⁷ jñānabhīṣekam R. jñānam(°na- T.) viśesam
 K. (Prose.) ¹⁸ °kāmaḥ R. ¹⁹ suvacāś ca T.S. (Prose.) suvarāś
 ca K. ²⁰ °kāś R.K.T. ²¹ °tā-gahana R. °ta sugata K.T.
 thibs-po Tib. ²² sūrataś R. ²³ °yamtuṇ K. °yantam T.
 °yatum R. ²⁴ °tha K.T. ²⁵ °yam R. ²⁶ śraddhi T.

adhimukti tapyati¹ vivardhati śukla-dharmo²
 mala-kalmaṣaṃ vimati-saṃśaya sarva yanti³ || 18 ||
 atra sthitā nara-varaṣabha bodhisatvā⁴
 sugatān aneka-nayutān abhipūjayanti |
 śṛṇvanti⁵ dharma yatha śāsani pravrajanti
 asaṃhārya śākya⁶ kṛta-kāñcana-bhūṣaṇaṃ vā⁷ || 19 ||
 atra sthitāna vidunā guṇaṃ āśayaṃ ca
 jñānaṃ upāya caraṇaṃ ca viśuddhi-mārgaḥ |
 no śakya māra-nayutebhi nivartanāya
 ratna-prabheva yatha⁸ varṣa-jalair ahāryā⁹ || 20 ||
 atra sthitā nara-marud-gaṇa-pūjanārḥā¹⁰
 bhonti suyāma-patir¹¹ īśvara dharma-cārī |
 satvāni dṛṣṭi-gahanād vinivartayanti
 sambhārayanti kuśalā jina-jñāna-hetoḥ || 21 ||
 vīryopapeta śata¹²-koṭi nara-rṣabhānāṃ
 paśyanti 'nanya-manasaḥ susamāhitatvāt |
 tata uttarīm bahukalpaṃ¹³ abhinirharanti
 jñānākārā praṇidhi-śreṣṭha-guṇārtha-cārī || 22 ||
¹⁴caturthī itiyāṃ bhūmir viśuddhā śubha-cārīṇī |
 guṇārtha-jñāna-yuktānāṃ nirdiṣṭā sugatatmajāḥ || 23 ||

¹ tasyati T. tasya 'bhi° R. tasyabhi K. cf. Daśabhūmika-Sūtra,
 ed. J. Rahder, P. 40, J. ² dharmā R. ³ patti K.

⁴ °tvā R. ⁵ śṛṇvanti R. ⁶ śānti- R.K.T. thub-pa-med
 (na śākya) Tib. ⁷ va R. ⁸ ratnu-prabheva vāte R. na

tu prabhava patha K. ratna-prabhe ca yatha T. ⁹ ahārya R.

¹⁰ nara-marut-pūjanārḥā bhonti R. nara-ma-pūjanārḥā K. nara-
 maru-punārḥā T. ¹¹ suyāma-devapatir R. ¹² tatha K.T.

¹³ °pam R.K.T. [Me. -] ¹⁴ Metre: Śloka.

Bhūmi IV

| Prose | Gāthā | Prose | Gāthā |
|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1—6 | | |
| (P. 37) A | 7 | (P. 40) G | { 16 |
| | | | { a |
| (P. 38) B | { 8 | H | { b |
| | 9 | | { c |
| C | { 10 | I | { d |
| | 11 | J | 18 |
| (P. 39) D | { 12 | | 19 |
| | 13 | K | { 20 |
| E | 14 | | { 21 |
| F | 15 | | 22 |
| | | | 23 |

V. Fifth Bhūmi, Initial Gāthā.

¹caranam atha śrūṇitvā bhūmi-śreṣṭhām vidūnām²
 jinasuta parituṣṭā harṣitā dharmahetoḥ |
 gagani kusuma-varṣam³ utsrjantī udagrāḥ
 sādhu sugataputra vyāhṛtaṁ te⁴ mahātmā || 1 ||
 maru-pati-vaśavartī⁵ sārdha devā⁶ gaṇeṇa
 khaga-gata⁷ sugatasya pūjanārtham⁸ udagrā |
 vividha-rucira-meghāḥ snigdha-ābhā manojñāḥ
 abhikira sugatasya harṣitāḥ prīṇitāś ca || 2 ||
 gītaruta-manojñā vādyā-tūryābhinādā
 deva-vadhū⁹-prayuktāḥ śāstu sampūjanārtham |
 jina puna tatha¹⁰-rūpaṁ darśayanti sma sthānam¹¹
 sarva-ruta-svarebhī eva-śabdaḥ prayuktāḥ || 3 ||
¹²sucireṇa āśayu prapūrṇa¹³ muneḥ¹⁴
 sucireṇa bodhi-śīva-prāpta jinaḥ |
 sucireṇa drṣṭa nara-deva-hitaḥ

¹ Metre : Mālinī, [na, na, ma, ya, ya.] ² °nām R.
³ °ṣam R. ⁴ tena K. ta T. ⁵ maru-pa vaśavartti R.
⁶ deva R.K.R. devā-(na) or devī? ⁷ kha-gata R. khaga-pathi
 S. ⁸ °tham R. ⁹ vadhū R.K. ¹⁰ sva- R. ¹¹ °nam
 R. °ne K.T. ¹² Metre : Pramitākṣarā, [sa, ja, sa, sa.]
¹³ pratipūrṇa R.K.T. ¹⁴ mune R.K.

samprāpta deva-puri śākyamuniḥ || 4 ||
 sucireṇa sāgara-jalāḥ kṣubhitāḥ
 sucireṇa ābha-śubha munni jane¹ |
 sucireṇa satva sukhitaḥ ~ ~ ~²
 sucireṇa śāsu śruta kārūnikaḥ || 5 ||
 sucireṇa saṃgamu mahāmuniṇā³
 samprāpta sarvagūṇa-pāramitaḥ |
 mada-māna-darpa prajahitva tamaṃ
 pūjārhu⁴ pūjima mahāśramaṇam || 6 ||
 [iḥa pūji-kṛtva khaga-mārga gatā]
 iḥa pūji-kṛtva sukha-neka-vidham |
 iḥa pūji-kṛtva duḥkha-sarva-kṣaye⁵
 iḥa pūji-kṛtva jina-jñāna-varam || 7 ||
 gaganopamaḥ paramu-śuddhu jinu⁷
 jagati⁸ aliptu yatha padmu jale |
 abhyudgato udadhi merur iva
 harṣitva cittu jina pūjayathā || 8 ||
⁹de-skad dbyaṇis-su brjod byas-nas |
 lha-yi-bu-mo brgya-maṇ-ba |
 dkaḥ-bas rgyas-pas rab-tu-blta |
 śin-tu-dkaḥ-bas ri-ma gro-byed || 9 ||

¹⁰athābravid¹¹ vajragarbhaṃ vimukticaṇdro viśāradaḥ |
 pañcamyā bhūmya¹² ākārān nirdiśasva viśārada¹³ || 10 ||

V. Final Gāthā.

¹⁴evaṃ viśodhita¹⁵ caturṣu jinā¹⁶-carīṣu

¹ munti jane K.T. mukti muneh?
 missing in Skt. MSS. ³ °muninām R.K.T. ² 3 syllables are
⁴ °ha K.T.
⁵ The first pada of stanza No. 7 occurring here in the Tibetan and
 Mongolian translations is missing in the Skt. MSS. ⁶ kṣayau K.
 kṣayo T. ⁷ jino K.T. ⁸ jagat R. ⁹ Stanza
 No. 9 occurs in the Tib. Mong. and Chin. versions, but is missing in
 Skt. MSS. ¹⁰ Metre: Śloka. ¹¹ °vit R. ¹² bhūmyā R.
¹³ °daḥ R.K.T. ¹⁴ Metre: Vasantatilaka. ¹⁵ °dhite R.T.
 °dhitu S. ¹⁶ jina R.K.T.

buddhya triyādhva-samatā anucintayanti |
 śīlaṃ ca citta pratipatti tu¹ mārga-śuddhiḥ
 kākṣā-vinīta²-vidu pañcamī³ ākramanti || 11 ||
 smṛti-cāpa indriya-iṣu⁴ anivartitaś⁵ ca
 samyakprahāṇa⁶-haya vāhana⁷-ṛddhipādāḥ⁸ |
 pañca-balāḥ kavaca sarva-ripū abhedyāḥ⁹
 śūrānivarti-vidu pañcamī ākramanti || 12 ||
 hṛy-apatrāpya-vastra¹⁰ vidunām śuci-sīla¹¹-gandho
 bodhyaṅga-mālya vara-dhyāna¹²-vilepanam ca |
 prajñā-vicāraṇa¹³-vibhūṣaṇ'-upāya-śreṣṭham
 udyāna-dhāraṇita¹⁴-pañcamim ākramanti || 13 ||
 catu-ṛddhi-pāda-caraṇāḥ¹⁵ smṛti-śuddhi-grīvāḥ
 kṛpa-maitra-śreṣṭha-nayanā vara-prajñā-damṣṭra |
 nairātmya¹⁶-nāda ripu-kleśa-pradharsamāṇā
 nara-siṃha¹⁷ samya¹⁸ vidu pañcamim ākramanti || 14 ||
 te pañcamim upagatā vara-bhūmi-śreṣṭham¹⁹
 pariśuddha-mārga-śubham uttari bhāvayanti |
 śuddhāśaya²⁰ vidu jinatva 'nu²¹prapaṇārthī
 kṛpa-maitra kheda-vigatā²² anucintayanti || 15 ||
 sambhāra-punyupacayā tatha jñāna-śreṣṭham²³
 naikā upāya abhirocana²⁴ bhūmya bhāsān²⁵ |
 buddhādhiṣṭhāna smṛtimām mati-buddhi-prāptā
 catvāri satya-nikhilān anucintayanti || 16 ||
 paramārtha-satyam api samvṛti-lakṣaṇam ca
 satya-vibhāgam atha satya-nitīraṇam ca |
 tatha vastu sāśrava-kṣayaṃ²⁶ api mārga-satyam²⁷

¹ °pattitu R. ² vinīte R. ³ pañcama R. pañca K.T.
⁴ iṣu S. indriyeṣu C. ⁵ °taś R.K.T. ⁶ °pradhāna R.
⁷ vāha R.K.T. [Me. ~ ~] ⁸ °pādā R. ⁹ °dyām R.T. °dyam K.
¹⁰ (hry-a) patrāpya vasta R. ¹¹ labdha R.K.T. ¹² nule° R.K.
¹³ °ṇā R. ¹⁴ °ṇita R. ¹⁵ caraṇī R. ¹⁶ °tmyā R.
¹⁷ siṃhā R. ¹⁸ sa R.T. ¹⁹ °ṣṭham R. ²⁰ °yo R.
²¹ °tva-anu R. [Me. ~ ~] ²² vigata R. ²³ °ṣṭham R.
²⁴ abhilocana K.T. ²⁵ bhūmyābhāsām R. ²⁶ kṣaye R.
²⁷ satyam R.

yāvanta nāvaraṇa-satya samo¹ saranti || 17 ||
 evaṃ ca satya parimārgati sūkṣma-buddhir
 na ca tāvad 'nā² varaṇa prāptu vimokṣa-śreṣṭham |
 jñānādhimukti-vipulāt tu guṇākarānām
 atibhonti sarva-jagato arha³-pratya-yānām || 18 ||
 so eva satya-abhinirhṛta-tatva-buddhir
 jānāti saṃskṛta-mṛṣā-prakṛtī asāram |
 kṛpa⁴-maitra-ābha⁵ labhate sugatāna bhūyaḥ
 satvārthikaḥ sugata-jñāna-gaveśamānaḥ || 19 ||
 pūrvāpare⁶ vidu nirīkṣatu saṃskṛtasya
 mohāndhakāra-tamasāvṛta duḥkha-lagnā |
 abhyuddharoti jagato duḥkha-skandha-vṛddhān⁷
 nairātmya jīva-rahitaṃs tṛṇa-kāṣṭha-tulyān || 20 ||
 kleśādvayena yugapat punar-bhāsi⁸ tryadhvam
 cchedo duḥkhasya na ca anta samosarantaḥ |
 hanto praṇaṣṭa-janate 'tidayā-'bhijātā⁹
 saṃsāra-srota na nivartati niḥsvabhāvam || 21 ||
 skandhālayā uraga-dhātu kudrṣṭi-śalyāḥ¹⁰
 saṃtapta-agni-hṛdayāvṛta andhakāre |
 tṛṣṇāṇava-prapatitā avalokanatvāt
 jina-sārthavāha-virahā¹¹ duḥkha-aṇava-sthāḥ || 22 ||
 evaṃ viditva punar ārabhate 'pramatto¹²
 tac caiva ārabhati sarvajagad-vimokṣi |
 smṛtimantu bhonti matimān gatimān dhṛtīm ca¹³
 hrīmāṃś ca¹⁴ bhonti tatha buddhina prajñavāṃś ca¹⁵
 || 23 ||
 avitrptu punyupacaye tatha jñāna-śreṣṭham¹⁶

¹ samā° K.T. ² anā° R.K.T. ³ jagatt 'arha R. jagato
 tta K. jagabhartu T. ⁴ kṛta R.T. ⁵ lambha R.K. lambham
 T. snān-ba Tib. ⁶ °para K.T. ⁷ vṛkṣān R. vṛddhāḥ K.T.
⁸ bhāsyā P₂. ⁹ tyayāṃs taye ti R. tyatokṣa ye ti K. jyayās
 mayeti T. sñiñ-rje skyē Tib. ¹⁰ śalyam R.K. ¹¹ vikalā
 R.K. ¹² 'pramādam S. ¹³ dhṛtīm R. ¹⁴ hirimantu
 R. hrīmāś ca K.T. ¹⁵ °jñavām R. ¹⁶ °ṣṭham R.

no khedavānn asīthilo balam eṣamāṇaḥ |
 kṣetram vidhāya jina-lakṣaṇa buddha-ghoṣam¹
 avitrpta sarvakriya satva-hitārtha-yuktaḥ || 24 ||
 paripācanāya jagato vidu śilpa-sthānān
 lipi-mudra-saṃkhyā-gaṇa-dhātu-cikitsa-tantrān |
 bhūta-grahā-viṣama-roga-nivartanārtham²
 sthāpenti śāstra-rucirān kṛpa-maitra-buddhī || 25 ||
 vara-kāvya-nāṭaka-matim³ vividha-praharṣān
 nadyodiyāna⁴-phala-puṣpa-niṣadya-sthānān |
 sthāpenti neka-kriya satva-sukhāpanārtham⁵
 ratnākaraṃś ca upadarśayi naika-rūpān || 26 ||
 bhūmī-calam ca graha-jyotiṣa-candra-sūryau
 sarvāṅga-lakṣaṇa-vicāraṇa rājayasthānam |
 ārūpya-dhyāna tatha-'bhijñā athāpramāṇa⁶
 abhinirharanti hita-saukhya-jagārtha-kāmāḥ || 27 ||
 iha durjayām⁷ upagata⁸ vara-prajñā-cārī
 pūjenti⁹ buddha-nayutā śṛṇuvanti¹⁰ dharmam |
 teṣāṃ śubham punar uttapyati āśayaś ca
 svarṇam¹¹ yathā musara-galvaya¹² saṃvimṛṣṭam¹³ || 28 ||
 ratnāmāyā-graha¹⁴-vimāna vahanti vātā¹⁵
 te yehi tehi tu vahanti asaṃhṛtāś ca¹⁶ |
 tatha loka-dharmi caramāna jagārtha-cārī
 asaṃhārya bhonti yatha padma jale aliptam || 29 ||
 atra sthitā tusita īśvara te kṛtāvī¹⁷
 nāśenti¹⁸ tīrthya-caraṇān prthu-dṛṣṭi-sthānān¹⁹ |
 yac cācaranti kuśalam jina-jñāna-hetoh

¹ ghoṣe R.T. ² °tham R. ³ mati-vi° R.
⁴ nadi-odiyāna R. nadyodyā K. nadyodyāna T. ⁵ °tham R.
⁶ °māṇāḥ R. ⁷ iha sudurjayām R. imu (su-T.) dur° K.
⁸ upagato R. ⁹ pūjayanti R. pūjanti K. pranayati T.
¹⁰ śṛṇvanti K. śṛno(ṇo)ti T. ¹¹ suvarṇa R. svarṇa K.T.
¹² musāra-galva R.K.T. ¹³ saṃvimatṭham R. savimāṣṭham K.T.
¹⁴ °mayāgra R.K. ¹⁵ vātā te R. ¹⁶ yehi tehi vahanti
 asaṃhṛtā yathā | R. te yehi tehi vahanti susaṃhitaś ca | K.T.
¹⁷ kṛtā R. ¹⁸ vīnāśenti R. ¹⁹ sthān R. ṣṭām T.

satvāna trāta bhavamo daśabhir balāḍhyaiḥ¹ || 30 ||
 te vīryam uttari samārabhi apramattāḥ
 koṭī-sahasra-sugatān abhipūjayanti |
 labdhvā² samādhi vidu kampayī kṣetra-koṭī
 praṇidhī-viśeṣu anubhūya guṇakarānām || 31 ||
³iti eṣa pañcamī bhūmir vicitropāya-koṭibhiḥ |
 nirdiṣṭā satva-sārānām uttamā⁴ sugatātmanajāḥ || 32 ||

Bhūmi V

| Prose | Gāthā | Prose | Gāthā |
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¹ balebhiḥ R. balāḍhyāḥ K. baladyāḥ T. ² labdhā R.K.T.

³ Metre: Śloka.

⁴ uttaptā R.T. uttaptāḥ K.

IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES V. KOYA-SAN

High up on the mountain of Kōya, 3000 ft. above the sea surrounded by forests of cryptomeria and fir, in a saucer-like plateau, rests the temple village of Kōya, the holy place of pilgrimage to devotees of the Shingon sect. For a thousand years the light has been burning in the Mandoro, and here come pilgrims from all over the world to do homage to Kōbō Daishi, the great founder of the Shingon sect. On the summit lies the village which extends with its borders of temple buildings for two miles surrounded by eight peaks which represent the eight petals of the lotus which in turn represent eight Buddhas. It is said that the form of Kōya-san is like a sleeping dragon from West to East and like a sitting tiger from North to South. An old poem states, "If a man take a step on this mountain, at that minute his troubles clear away by the wind that blows over Kōya's many peaks." Indeed Kōya-san is filled with peace and calm—a troubled soul may here find surcease of his woes.

Kōya-san was discovered by Kōbō Daishi. Wishing to find a quiet remote place to establish a home for his mystic teaching, he wandered over many mountains in the vicinity of Kyoto and felt that he found in Kōya-san the ideal spot. There is a story of his meeting the resident god of the mountain, accompanied by his two dogs, who directed Kōbō Daishi to the summit of the mountain. Kōbō Daishi had a friend in the Emperor Saga and he asked him to give the mountain to him. The Emperor heeded his request and the grant in the handwriting of the Emperor is still preserved at Kōya as one of its treasures.

In the ninth year of Kōnin (818 A.D.), Kōbō Daishi began with the help of his disciples to excavate the mountain and the first temple was built the next year and soon after great temple buildings rose up. When it was entirely

finished it must indeed have been a grand place with stately buildings, elegant pagoda, golden Buddhas, with wonderful pictures and statues and filled with priests entoning the holy sutras. It was here that Kōbō Daishi died or rather entered into meditation, for his followers believe that he is still living in the tomb, lost in contemplation, awaiting the coming of Maitreya, the future Buddha. He predicted his own death, and when the time came, summoned his disciples, declared his will, and then sat down quietly, and entered a deep meditation from which he never emerged.

His grave is the Mecca of throngs of devoted followers who come to pray before his grave, offering incense and candles. His tomb stands among the giant trees of his beloved Kōya at the very end of the great cemetery. At Kōya it is believed that the spiritual light of Kōbō Daishi is still shedding its rays not only upon Kōya but upon all the temples and followers of Shingon throughout Japan. To Shingon believers Kōbō Daishi was not an ordinary man but an incarnation of the Buddha. Popularly, he is revered as a Bodhisattva and Kōya-san is dedicated to his spirit.

In its best days the temples are said to have numbered 2000 to 9000, but there are only about 110 left. Most of the temples at Kōya receive pilgrim-guests. There is no fixed fee for hospitality: every one gives what he can whether it is a large contribution from a wealthy follower or the modest offering of a poor pilgrim. The fare is strictly vegetarian.

The chief sight at Kōya-san is the cemetery. It extends a broad avenue one and a half miles long through a forest of cryptomeria and hinoki trees on each side of which are monuments of all kinds, large and small, elaborate and simple in the forms of slabs, shafts, pagodas with statues of Bodhisattvas. Huge *gorinto*, the stone monuments in five parts representing the five elements—earth, water, fire, air, space, symbolised by square, circle, pyramid, crescent, and sphere—are many and whether large or small they are always impressive. Here are tombstones or memorial stones for many

famous men of the past, warriors and noble men as well as of Shingon devotees and priests who have died recently. At the end of the stately avenue is the tomb of Kōbō Daishi where lights and incense are always burning and devotion is ever offered. Shingon followers like to be buried at Kōya if possible, and if not to have a portion of their ashes interred in a common receptacle near the tomb of Kōbō Daishi.

On one side we see the graves of the celebrated heroes Atsumori and Kumagai Naokane, we see the great tombstones of prominent daimyo, memorial stones erected to the memory of celebrated priests like Hōnen Shōnin and Shinran Shōnin, to men of literature like the poet Bashō, to actors like Ichikawa Danjūro, and near Kōbō Daishi's tomb is a separate enclosure which holds the monuments of Emperors. In the Hall of Light many oil lamps are burning in memory of the dead. For a small fee the visitor may have a lamp burning for a day or a day and a night or he may arrange to have a light burning for a longer period. The burning of a light is a pious offering in the eyes of Buddhists, and there are some who believe that in whatever one of the six worlds the departed one may be, he will be aware in some way of blessing, of the flame lighted for him.

There is a story told that recalls the story in the Bible, of the widow's mite. It is said that a very rich man offered ten thousand lamps while a poor woman who possessed nothing cut off her hair in order to sell it to get money for one lamp. Her offering was acceptable and is said to be still burning in the Mandōrō Hall. The lamp lighted by the Emperor Shirakawa in 1023 has never been extinguished.

The Great Kondō or Golden Hall of Kōya was burned in December 1926 and priceless treasures went in flames, but it is now being rebuilt and it is said will be very beautiful. The re-building of the Kondō shows that Buddhist piety is still a living thing in Japan, for the money to do it comes from the followers both rich and poor. In the vicinity of

the Kondō are a number of small buildings containing statues of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas, a pagoda and the Mieido which enshrines a celebrated picture of Kōbō Daishi. It is considered a very holy object and is never shown to the general public. Near here is the shrine erected to the Myōjin or mountain god who directed Kōbō Daishi to Kōya. It has a beautiful setting of high trees and seems to give out from its precincts a special atmosphere of quiet and calm. It is interesting to note that the two dogs who accompanied the Myōjin are also enshrined here. The Emperor offered the black dog for the province of Kii and the white dog for the province of Awaji.

Kōya has a great gate called the Daimon; it is 138 ft. high. Besides it is a very large bronze statue of Kwannon, the Bodhisattva of compassion. In the ninth year of Meiwa (1772), a great fire took place in Tokyo, many people perished, and this statue was erected for the peace of their spirits.

The Kongōbuji constructed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in memory of his mother, the official residence of the Abbot, is the chief temple at Kōya. It is extensive and impressive with a splendid curved roof and fine wood-carving in the gates and porches. The rooms are large and elegant with wall screens painted by celebrated artists. These rooms are named in accord with their decorations, the Willow Room, the Plum Room, the Pine-tree Room, and so on. The Willow Room is the site of the apartment where Hidetsugu, the adopted son of Hideyoshi, committed *harakiri* at the command of his august father. In the Hall of Ancestral Tablets, there are those to the memory of the Imperial Family; and it is interesting to note that here reposes the memorial tablet for the Honorable Mrs. Gordon, an earnest student of Buddhism, whose grave is in the Koya cemetery. Kōbō Daishi is enshrined here. The whole building is an example of the spaciousness and beauty of an ideal Buddhist temple.

The Daishi Hall is a large and fine building erected in

recent years and used as a church for all the activities of the Kōbō Daishi Association of Kōya, which is organised for the purpose of propagating and extending the teaching of the saint of Shingon. Here are held lectures, Sunday school, summer school, and meetings of all kinds in connection with the religious work of the sect.

There are many other temples in Kōya and each one of them contains treasures in the form of statues or pictures, pagodas or gardens. The oldest and one of the finest is the Kongo Sammai In. It contains a very wonderful screen, a national treasure, by Oguri Sōtan (1398-1464). But most interesting of all is the Tahōto, a two-storied pagoda built by the wife of Yoritomo in 1190. It is the oldest building in Kōya and contains some wonderful statues by the master Unkei—the centre figure is Dainichi (Mahāvairocana) with Amida, Shaka, Ashuku, and Hōshō. The expressions on the faces of these figures reflect the beauty and compassion of Mahayana Bodhisattvas and truly symbolise the characteristic qualities of these Bodhisattvas of wisdom and compassion.

At the Shōjō-shin In, the most elegant of the Kōya temples, there are many beautiful objects, screens, and pictures in Kakemono style, statues and ornaments, while the rooms themselves are works of art and the garden a glimpse of beauty. There are some wonderful screens from the brushes of Kano artists and also some fine monochrome ink panels of Sesshū. The Hall of the Memorial Tablets is spacious and impressive, all the ritualistic implements being of fine workmanship. Here are found the tablets of emperors and shoguns, daimyos, priests, and laymen of all kinds. Before them are intoned the sacred scriptures supposed to help to bring peace to the departed spirit. An atmosphere of quiet calm hangs over the precincts.

There are many stories and legends connected with Kōya-san but owing to lack of space I must refrain to tell them. There are stories connected with Kōbō Daishi and other eminent priests, stories about Hideyoshi and other

notable historical personages, legends regarding rocks and trees and birds, even romances connected with fair women in spite of the fact that from its establishment until 1868 women were denied entrance to Kōya-san.

I must not forget however to mention the gardens of Kōya, the charming one at Shōjō-shin In, where the pink lotus bloom, the artistic one at Tentoku In laid out by Kobori Enshū and a fine example of the master's art, the picturesque one at Fumon In serene in formality. Each temple has its garden and each one preserves its characteristic impression.

The walks on Kōya-san are beautiful, amid the giant trees and with temples and shrines on all sides—a priest passes in black robes rosary in hand—perhaps a procession is met, priests robed in lovely gowns of purple, red, and gold—a group of young students passes—some pilgrims pause before a temple gate.

There are schools and colleges at Kōya-san—college and university as well as elementary and middle schools. Some of the most eminent scholars of the sect reside here; there is a fine library and a splendid museum.

In the museum are preserved the most precious possessions of Kōya. It is impossible to describe them, magnificent examples of the artist, sculptor, and calligrapher. There are some from the brush and chisel of Kōbō Daishi. Nearly every one is a National Treasure.

There is only one that I can describe here and that is the jewel in the whole collection. It is the famous picture by Eshin Sōzu of Amida and the Twenty-five Bosatsu. It was painted in 965 A.D. at the temple of Enryakuji on Hiei-zan. It represents Amitabha accompanied by Twenty-Five Bodhisattvas welcoming the believer after death to the Pure Land. The central figure, the Amida, is of great beauty—he is the Buddha of Boundless Light, and light seems to be the characteristic of this painting. The colour of the picture is a predominating gold which increases the atmosphere of luminosity. The figures of the Bodhisattvas are grace com-

bined with strength, the expressions are love fused with power, and the golden Amida himself with his half-shut eyes and half-smiling mouth is symbolic of tender compassion. To this picture one can return again and again finding new beauty at each visit.

Tradition says that it was at the temple of Ryūkō In that Kōbō Daishi died and a small dark room in which an oil taper is burning is shown to special devotees of Shingon. This oil taper has been kept burning since his death. This temple is in possession of mementoes of his,—his rosary given by a Chinese Emperor, the Fudō sword and paintings and writings which he made.

Near here is the temple of Myōwo In which harbours the celebrated Red Fudo painted also by Eshin Sōzu said to be done with his own blood. It is a serious and mysterious picture which reveals its inner meaning only to a devotee of Shingon.

The reader can see that there is a wealth of interest and beauty, here at Kōya-san. Nature, art, and religion have been lavish in their gifts. He who comes to this lovely place may feel as if he has come to an earthly paradise where he can spend peaceful hours among the lofty trees, amid the sound of birds and the flutter of dragon-flies, listening to the jump of the red carp in the pond, and the sound of the ponderous but musical bell. Kōya-san has within it the element of peace which it has been drawing to itself since Kōbō Daishi, treading over the mountain, stopped here and said, "Here will I build my temple. Here will I make my religious home."

AT KOYA

(1)

In the deep pool—the golden carp,
In the pine-trees—the summer breeze,
On the rock edge—kingfisher blue,
In my heart's depth—profound calm,
Here in the garden of Sainan-In.

(2)

How far away they seem
All the petty cares, the trifles of Life.
Here in the temple!
I feel myself expanding,
As I become the All, the parts drop away.
Indeed no parts are left,
There is only One.

(3)

Birds, birds, birds!
Wagtail, kingfisher, mountain dove.
Why do you come to this temple garden?
When I look at your pure beauty,
I feel sure that you have come
To worship the Buddha.

(4)

A strange quiet
As if a Buddha stood at the edge of the wood
With his finger on his lips.
The birds, the carp, the leaves, even I
Aware of his presence
Suspend all movement.

(5)

I walked among the graves at Koya San
City of the dead and giant trees,
Engraved stones a mile before me,
Chiseled stones a mile behind me,
Statues of Buddhas all around me,
I picture the dead living again,
Princes, daimyos, priests, devotees,
They walk among the trees at Koya San,
They seem living and I seem dead.
Thus beholding their pageantry
I walked among the graves at Koya San,
City of the living and great trees.

(6)

Among the lofty trees of Koya
The moon looks down upon the graves;
At the inner shrine stop and gaze
Where Kobo Daishi sleeps in peace
He is not dead they say,
He is sleeping (how near Death is to Sleep!)

He is waiting for Maitreya. Is he lonely?
How can he be lonely?
The devotees come and go,
Reverence given, adoration,
Kobo Daishi sleeps in peace
Among the giant trees of Koya
Waiting he knows not of sorrow and loneliness,
Watching for Maitreya,
Watching for Maitreya.

SEIREN

BOOK REVIEWS

LE PENSEE DE RABINDRANATH TAGORE, by Sushil Chandra Mitter. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve. 1930.

After a brief preface by Dr Sylvain Lévi, who finds in Tagore one of the two guiding voices of India in travail, and a full bibliography of four pages, Professor Mitter proceeds to trace the sources of the poet's thought, and then to discuss what he calls his "transcendental humanism." In spite of his protest the poet's admirers insist that he is also a philosopher.

This discussion, the latter half of the book, is the more original, but the first half is equally useful to all who need such a summary. Professor Mitter is well-qualified by birth, training, and occupation to make it, and he gives us a clear and sympathetic account of Tagore's sensitive childhood, of the influence of his father, the Maharshi, of his adolescent promise, and of his brilliant achievements as educator, poet, and thinker. The Upanishads, the Bhakti singers of Bengal, Buddhism, and the songs of the people have all entered into the soul of this eclectic thinker; but it is to Kabir, the weaver-poet and to Rammohun Roy the synthetist that Tagore owes most. A son of the Brahmo Samaj he has sung as no one in our time the praises of the Unseen Lover, and in this devotional dualism Dr Mitter finds his distinctive thought.

In the poet's Jivandevatā, "Lord of My Life," he sees a new doctrine of the Self. Agreeing with Bergson that this world is a process of things, Tagore, more poet than philosopher, sees in the calm and peace of personal communion the proof that there is an abiding reality.

Tagore's "philosophy" expresses itself in many ways, perhaps best in his Asram Santiniketan, Abode of Peace. Here is a practical expression of his Reality: and if it breaks down in his own tendency to criticise without accepting criticism and in his failure to realise that internationalism

must be based on nationalism, this is because he is an intuitive rather than a systematic thinker.

In nationalism he sees the curse of our time and in the "big and complex" organisation of our civilisation the trademark of materialism.

The book concludes with a brief account of the poet's educational work, but unfortunately it has no index, and the reviewer is unable to check his impression that far too little attention is given to the influence of the West upon Tagore whose music, drama, educational theories, and philosophy have been more influenced than he knows by the "material" West. Nor is there enough consideration of the influence of Buddhism which inspires the Poet not only by its international spirit but by its central philosophic thought. The contrast between the unreal and the real, the transient and the permanent, the restless and the calm—it is this which the great thinkers and artists try to express, and it is this which Tagore has chosen as the central thought of his own mystical transcendentalism. But why drag in Bergson whom the Buddha anticipates by twenty-five centuries in making Nibbana the calm state of the one Abiding Reality?

Kenneth J. Saunders

THE SPIRIT OF BUDDHISM, by Sir Hari Singh Gour. Calcutta : Lal Chand & Sons ; London : Luzac and Company. 8vo, pp. xxxi + 565. Price, 30s.

The beginning of the preface explains this work. It says, "The subject of this book has given rise to a voluminous literature in all the principal European languages. But all these works have been written by European scholars. It appeared to the present writer that there might still be room for a work compiled by one who, though not an orientalist, had yet lived in a system out of which Buddhism had grown and who, by reason of his remote kinship with the Great Master, might perhaps possess a mentality which may give

him in some small degree an advantage denied to alien writers, brought up under a different system and possessing a mentality, which has to be trained to the receptivity of ideas and the appreciation of a doctrine, the elements of which are familiar to all Hindus, and the depth of which can perhaps be more easily sounded by those to whose forefathers the doctrine was first preached and who, by their love and devotion to their great compatriot and kinsman, are not likely to forget easily its true meaning and significance." This is the reason for the book and the author states that he has followed the historical method, but in expounding the tenets of the new religion, he has attempted to summarise the then prevalent views of life and then give Buddha's comments and criticism upon them and the writer feels that a work following this method must necessarily be a singular departure from the beaten track hallowed by the tread of a century of orientalist and European expounders of oriental thought. As the writer declares it is intended to be popular, so it disarms criticism from a more scholarly point of view. The author gives an exposition of the life of the Buddha and the development of the doctrine and his views are indeed often contrary to those held by European scholars and he finds in Buddhism a higher teaching than is ordinarily presented. Buddha never truly denied the existence of God nor of the soul—he was not truly understood.

A comparison with other faiths is made, with Jainism, with Hinduism, with Christianity, with Islam, with modern thought, and a final chapter presents Buddhism as the universal religion. It should be classed as a world religion because it possesses none of the bigotry and nothing of the exclusiveness of sectarian creeds. It is tolerant of all creeds but only intolerant of their superstitions and absurd dogmas and offers a faith enlightened by reason and a convenient formula for uniting all intellectual forces on the ground of a common idealism.

In asserting that there is an esoteric doctrine in Bud-

dhism, the author is in line with Mahayana Buddhism especially with the Zen and Shingon sects of Japan. We agree with the statement: "Buddhism has always had an esoteric side; and that side places Buddhist metaphysics in a plane higher and nobler than the base materialism to which it is held associated. That higher teaching will not be readily perceived by any one who reads only what Buddha spoke in his popular discourses to the uninitiated.—That Buddhism has for over two thousand years engrossed the best minds of the East and has materially influenced Western thought—shows that there must be in the plain narrative of his doctrine an elasticity and a hidden meaning which only a closer study of his teaching can reveal." This chapter is of much interest but we could wish that the author knew more of the Mahayana so that he might stress here the ideal of the Bodhisattva which is the gem of the higher Buddhist doctrine.

COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN VEDANTISM, by Mahendranath Sircar, M.A., Ph. D. Pub. by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Pp. xii+314. Price, 10 Rs.

In India philosophy has never been divorced from life and religion, and religion has often been deeply tinged with intellectual subtleties. That the highly abstract advaita Vedantism of Śankāra is contrasted to the concrete devotional Vishnu worship of Rāmānuja may appear strange, but both are really branches of one great Indian life-tree.

Buddhism does not acknowledge the authority of the Śruti, and in this respect it does not belong to the orthodox Indian way of thinking. But it harbours also in its own body two divergent systems of discipline—the highly metaphysical Śūnyatā teaching and the devotionism of the Pure Land faith. When the two extremes are taken up for comparison, they seem to differ so much, indeed, that one doubts whether they belong to the same system. Shin Buddhism

and the Vishnu worship being analogous to Christianity in so many points, they may all be considered to be of one common origin; but after all the Shin is an offshoot of Japanese Buddhism and the Vaishnavas are the Indian followers of the Bhakti wing of Vedantism; they cannot grow out of Christianity, which is the product of the religious consciousness of the Israelites. Though religion is life everywhere, this life asserts itself in different forms under different surroundings. This is why there are varieties of religious expressions and yet so many points of mutual correspondence.

“Vedāntism,” it is rightly remarked by the author of the *Comparative Studies in Vedāntism*, “is as much an art of life as a science of thinking, and life ultimately in its fullness of growth embraces Truth and finds its meaning and purpose therein. And it will not be wrong to say that Vedāntic systems are ultimately attitudes of life and consciousness, which subsequently find out a logical support and basis. Though the later teachers are found engrossed in working at the concepts, yet these concepts are formed and woven out of a demand to meet the requirement of the particular attitude of consciousness. And in the history of Vedāntism two attitudes of knowledge and love have almost become fixed, and the psychological demands have given two types of philosophical concepts and thinking.”

What Dr Sircar attempts to do in his book before us is “to indicate the fundamental concepts of Vedāntism, a comparative study in the different lines of thinking of these problems. I have, therefore, before me the two types of thought—Transcendentalism of the Advaitins and Theism of the Vaishnavas. Among Vaishnava teachers I have attempted to throw light on the systems of Rāmānuja, Vallabha, Madhva, Nimvark, and the Bengal school. Though the main profession of Vaishnava Vedanta has been theistic, yet the Vaishnava teachers have minor differences amongst themselves, and the cast of Vaishnavic thought has different

moulds to suit the minor differences in logic." The subjects treated here for comparative studies are: Epistemological Approach, Categories of Existence, Appearance, An Estimate, The Creative Order, Sources of Knowledge, and Realisation and Discipline.

The doctrine of grace is the weightiest one in all the religious systems founded upon the experience of salvation. Whether salvation is monergistic or synergistic, whether it is Tariki (other-power) or Jiriki (self-power), may be left to philosophers to discuss and give a final solution to the problem. According to Dr Sircar, "Vaishnavism counts upon grace as the immediate cause of liberation from the divided life consequent on association of the soul with nature. Grace sheds forth kindly light and loving attraction which carries the struggling soul up to the fulness of life and light. But before the soul can feel the touch of grace and receive it, it is to be absolutely purified and resigned. Karma gives this purity of being, resignation, and humility. In lowliness and humility the spirit receives grace. The Vedāntists accept the ever-presence and ever-expansiveness of grace, still they maintain that grace is vouchsafed unto the spiritually fit. The importance of karma and self-discipline has been emphasised in this affirmation. Mercy bestows its genial protection and upward stirring to every struggling consciousness, but the virtuous and the meritorious alone are fit to receive them. The unrighteous cannot receive them by the grossness of their nature. Even in cases when the flow of divine mercy has an unprecedented swiftness, the heart must have been pure, the spirit lowly, and the intellect in tune with the synthetic vision. Grace or mercy is consequent upon clarity of vision and lowliness of spirit. When the synthetic vision is in complete sight, the heart moves in the rhythm of the synthetic light and gradually begins to receive the loving touch and the protecting care of Mercy. Such a conception of mercy is not opposed to the self-effort and self-discipline." (P. 310.)

Against this, Shin Buddhism upholds absolute moner-gism. The comparative study of all these religious experiences in Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, etc. and the philosophies which attempt to understand them intelligently will, no doubt shed much light on the nature of the human soul.

On the whole, Dr. Sircar has handled his subject with lucidity and penetration.

THE SAUNDARANANDA OF AŚVAGHOṢA, Critically Edited with Notes by E. H. Johnston, M. A. Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Price 12/6. Pp. xi + 171.

We have now a critically edited text of Aśvaghōṣa's Saundarananda by Mr. E. H. Johnston, forming one of the Panjab University Oriental Publications. Besides the text itself there are notes carefully worked out and a good full index containing many Buddhist Sanskrit words which have not been noticed much in the dictionaries. The text, as the editor rightly remarks, has not been sufficiently studied by Buddhist scholars. But really "it is the earliest Buddhist work by a writer whose name is known to us and of whose personality we can gain some idea from his writings. So too it is the earliest work presenting to us a logical and carefully thought-out description of the path to Enlightenment. That the views set out are traditional makes it perhaps all the more valuable; for it enables us to see the force and bearing of technical terms and arguments, which are enunciated in earlier Buddhist literature in a manner liable to cause misconception. Further, as Aśvaghōṣa is generally agreed to have flourished early in the second century A.D., the indications he gives of developments in doctrine deserve consideration." (Pp. v-vi.)

This neglect on the part of Buddhists in the past was no doubt due to the inaccessibility of a good text of *The Saun-*

darananda, and we have to be grateful for Mr Johnston's painstaking work which amply supplies the deficiency.

BUDDHISTISCHE SYMBOLIK, with 68 plates in large octavo, by Gustav Mensching. Gotha: Leopold Klotz Verlag. Pp. 52; price, 18 marks.

The author intends through this work to show the religious symbology of Buddhism by means of many illustrations. They have been taken mainly by the author's uncle, Dr Schubert. The work has an introduction on Buddhism and Buddhist symbology, and then explains the pictures which illustrate the following subjects: the general symbols of the teaching of Buddhism such as the Wheel of the Law and the stupa, the Buddha and his Order, showing statues of the Buddha and of the Arhats, the cult symbology with pictures of altars and their ornaments such as drums and bells, the architecture of temples, for example, stupas and pagodas, and animal symbols such as the lion, the elephant, and the deer. This is an extremely interesting and suggestive book.

THE REAL H. P. BLAVATSKY, a Study in Theosophy and a Memoir of a Great Soul, by William Kingsland. London: John M. Watkins. 8vo, pp. x+322. Price, 16s.

This book is a written endeavour to show how the Theosophical Movement started and to reveal the soul of the woman who was the central figure in the inception of that movement. The author states that "behind the rough, somewhat uncouth, stormy, and certainly most unconventional H. P. Blavatsky, there lay for those who could put aside superficial judgments, a nobility and force of character of the highest quality, so in using the term the *Real* H. P. Blavatsky I use the term first of all as correcting the false representations and misconceptions which have been so commonly and so lightly accepted by the world at large and

secondly as signifying what in fact each of us possesses—an inner Self, a real Self as distinguished from the fluctuating, changing personality; a Self which, in that majority of us, is only very feebly active in or through the temporary personality. Setting aside all carping criticism, let the reader try to look into the great heart of the woman whose clear gaze was fixed on the great goal of Humanity, the attainment by each individual of a divine degree of knowledge and wisdom and who worked with iron will and unswerving purpose and utter self-sacrifice if perchance a few might receive the great message entrusted to her by those custodians of the ancient Wisdom Religion when she herself had found after years of ceaseless search.”

There is no doubt whatever that the Theosophical Movement, made known to the general world, the main doctrines of Mahayana Buddhism, and the interest now being taken in Mahayana in the Western world has most certainly been helped forward by the knowledge of Theosophy. Mr Evans Wentz in his *Tibetan Book of the Dead* writes, “The late Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdry was of opinion that there is adequate internal evidence in them of their author’s intimate acquaintance with the higher lamaistic teachings into which she claimed to have been initiated.” *The Voice of the Silence* is true Mahayana doctrine. Undoubtedly, Madame Blavatsky had in some way been initiated into the deeper side of Mahayana teaching and then gave out what she deemed wise to the Western world as theosophy. It is true that some things were added and some subtracted from the pure Mahayana doctrine according to the extent of her knowledge and her judgment. As Mr Kingsland says, “She did more than any other single individual to bring to the West a knowledge of Eastern religious philosophy.”

The author proceeds to record the life of Madame Blavatsky from her birth to her death, always with the idea of discovering the real individual under the superficial personality. It seems that he has done his task well.

CHRISTOS, the Religion of the Future, by William Kingsland.

London: John M. Watkins. Demy 8vo, Pp. xi+123.

Price, 2/6.

Religion, according to Mr Kingsland, is the effort of the individual to realise his innate spiritual nature and powers. He believes that even in the remotest past there was already a deeper knowledge, a real Gnosis which we are, in fact, only now beginning to recover. It is that ancient Gnosis which must be the religion of the future he thinks, and he hopes to show that all our scientific discoveries and our modern philosophical thinking tends to confirmation and re-statement of it.

It is interesting to find Buddhist parallels. On page 18, he gives the statements of Reality which exactly matches that of Zen when he asserts that to find reality, "the man must penetrate to the depth of his own being" and again "the finding of the true Self is a continual negation, perpetual loss of the phenomenal self."

On page 81, he gives the Buddhist standpoint when he declares that the cycle of birth and death is to be conquered through the attainment of a real spiritual consciousness, and on page 84, a definition of the True Self which is quite Mahayanistic. On page 96, he seems to affirm the Bodhisattva ideal of Mahayana. This little book gives a good introduction to Mahayana Buddhism. For this reason, we recommend it to all those wishing to taste something of the Mahayana Wisdom.

GOTAMA THE MAN, by C. A. F. Rhys Davids. London; Luzac and Company. Demy 8vo, Pp. 302. Price, 4s.

This is a puzzling book. At the first reading the new ideas and irritating style created an unsympathetic judgment, but upon re-reading it and managing to put up with the strange English style, the general idea of the writer was caught and sympathised with.

It is indeed true that the man Gotama as well as the Buddha Gotama and his teaching have been so represented and misrepresented by both ancient and modern writers that "it is difficult now to get a true idea of either the man or his message and that he does not sanction the worth in which either he or his message is held to-day."

The author proceeds to write the life of the Buddha in the first person, and this presentation is quite different from the usual and orthodox one. For example, "It was not the facts of old age, sickness, death that were brought home to me, as if I had never known of them, as if I were a very babe in knowing of these things. It was the More-knowledge that the old man wanted, that the brahmans were scant in, more-knowledge in the longer life, more-knowledge in the things most needful here in our way-faring; it was the back of this that sent me home most woeful, most lacking light, most looking for a new world (p. 21).'" And again, "Let no book ever word any other message as mine:—the worth in man as willer to will, to choose his own welfare," (p. 51); again, "I held the very 'man' in highest worth. That there was no 'I' was unthinkable. I did not seek man's body, I did not seek man's mind; I did not seek a bundle, a complex of both. I sought 'The Man', the very 'thee' (p. 63).'" "Never did we doubt that 'I' the very man, was real (p. 65).'" "The man in my word was the one thing most real, man who is neither body nor mind.... Here lies the very centre of my teaching:—the man as wayfarer (p. 86)."

The writer examines the various doctrines of the Buddha and re-interprets them. One must certainly agree with her when she asserts (p. 146), "There is perhaps no teaching that has been so fettered as is mine with the fixed formula, the fixed refrains." The Buddhism we know in the Pali Canon is the fixed Buddhism made by priests. As the writer says, "Not only were the fixed wordings not always worthy but changes came which were not for the better." In truth, the Buddhism of the Southern School in its sutras is the

record of one school only the Vibhajjavadin. There were the records of other schools but it was the Mahayana which sought to return to the real teaching of the Buddha, to get his true spirit. That they made mistakes too is certain, but they made fewer mistakes, and if they are accused of preventing the letter of the doctrine, they made a brave attempt to preserve its spirit. Mrs Rhys Davids' book is very suggestive along this line. She says, "They had only, each section of them, some sayings. None of them had a knowledge of all. Nor have they now, in countries where Buddhism is held. They know only portions." Let us add, in Europe also.

Although the writer's ideas and conclusions are not Mahayana, but quite independently characteristic of herself, often exaggerated, often far-fetched but also the clear thinking of a trained scholar. Yet she suggests what the Mahayanist felt when they turned from the monk-made school of the Vibhajjavadin to seek the true spirit of the Buddha's doctrine.

THE VISION OF KWANNON SAMA, by B. L. Broughton, M. A. (Oxon.). London: Luzac and Company. Pp. 154. Price, 5s.

This book, in story form, relates a legend, according to Chinese sources, of the origin of Kwanyin, the Chinese Bodhisattva of Mercy. It is difficult to understand why as the story is Chinese, the Japanese term Kwannon Sama should be used, and then the use of this term is popular, the true form used by priests being Kwanzeon Bosatu, Kwannon Sama being used only among the laity of less religious knowledge.

The story is a charming one and was composed by a Chinese priest: it was told to Mr Broughton by Chinese friends. The beauty of personality and character of the lovely Miao Shan is sympathetically related. The world of

compassion is contrasted with the world of force and Kwannon triumphs in the end as the ever-victorious Bodhi-sattva of Love and Compassion.

BUDDHISM, by Kenneth Saunders. Benn's Sixpenny Library, No. 58. Pp. 79.

This is a very small book outlining Buddhism. It is indeed Buddhism in a nutshell presented within a few pages. Anyone who reads this little book cannot fail to have his interest aroused in this great religion. The author says, "The student who would grasp at once the wide range of Buddhist developments and their inner unity may do so without great effort in two ways. He may either read typical texts in easily available translations, or he may study the art forms in which their essence is embodied," and he adds that "if the first step is to realise the complexity of Buddhism, the second is to trace the underlying unity.... The key to the understanding of Buddhism lies in the concept of balm in the midst of storm, of the Abiding in the midst of the transient, of the real at the heart of the unreal."

THE TANNISHO, Tract on Deploring the Heterodoxies, translated by Tosui Imadate. Kyoto: The Eastern Buddhist Society. 16mo, p. xxviii+51. Price, ¥1.00.

The *Tannisho* is considered a gem by the Jōdo-Shin sect and believed to contain its most important teaching. It was compiled by one of Shinran Shonin's immediate disciples, Yuiembo, who found that his master's teaching was variously interpreted, not always in the spirit of the master. He lamented the state of affairs and decided to write this booklet quoting some of the most important sayings of Shinran Shonin in order to put an end to the spreading of heterodoxies. It is supposed to present householder Buddhism the gist of which consists in believing in the "Original Vow" of Amitabha Buddha and the very spirit of the Buddha and

the essence of his teaching is understood to be revealed in the *Tannisho*. As the *Tannisho* itself says, "When the thought is awakened in your heart to say the Nembutsu, believing that your rebirth in the Pure Land is attained through the inconceivable power of Amida's Original Vow, you come to share in his grace which embraces all beings forsaking none." The reader who wishes to learn something of Shin Buddhism cannot do better than to peruse this little book.*

CHINESISCHE PHILOSOPHIE, by Heinrich Hackmann. München: Ernst Reinhardt. Pp. 406. Price, M. 9.00.

This is a noteworthy book which deals with Chinese philosophy from the earliest to modern times, describing in detail the main ideas of Confucius, Laotse, Metse, Chuangtse, Mencius, and then following with the development of Buddhism in China, the history of Mahayana, its great teachers and sutras, and then going on to Sung and modern Confucianism. The book shows rare learning and is a most necessary volume in the library of the student of Chinese philosophy.

* With great regret we report that the translator of the *Tannisho* died recently after this note had gone to the press.

NOTES

By the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Dr E. R. Rost, which took place in London in June of last year (1930), the Buddhist community of London lost a faithful and devoted worker for the cause. His passing occurred soon after the publication of his book, *The Nature of Consciousness*. His funeral took place according to Buddhist rites.

We regret to have to record the death of Captain Ellam, formerly editor of *The Buddhist Review*, who had given the greater part of his life to Buddhist work. He died in London in July of last year.

Another Buddhist who has left our midst is Mrs L. Adams Beck, the well-known novelist, who wrote also under the name of Barrington. She died on January 3, 1931, in Kyoto where she had been making her home during the preceding year and a half. She gave her time to literary and charitable work. Her books written under her own name such as *The Splendour of Asia* and *Garden of Vision* show her interest in Buddhism. Her *Story of Oriental Philosophy* is a popular compendium of oriental teaching. She made, with Professor S. Yamabe of Otani University, a translation of the psalms of Shinran Shonin in *The Wisdom of the East* series. She gave three contributions to our *Eastern Buddhist*, the last one on "Milarepa the Tibetan Saint" appearing in our last number.

Her friends greatly regret the passing of this brilliant woman who was an enthusiastic Buddhist. A beautiful memorial service attended by her Western and Japanese friends, was held for her spirit at the Zen temple of Empukuji near Kyoto.

It is with the greatest regret and the personal sorrow of the Editor that we must record the death of Sir Charles

Eliot, former British Ambassador to Japan, which took place on March 17 on the steamer *Hakone-maru* between Penang and Colombo while he was proceeding to England. Sir Charles had been staying for some time in Japan, living in the quiet city of Nara, gathering material for a monumental work on Japanese Buddhism. He frequently visited Otani College Library to consult books, and the Editor had many pleasant interviews with him. On his last visit made shortly before his departure, he seemed not in his usual health. He was going to England for the purpose of seeing his book through the press. It is deeply to be deplored that he could not have lived to see the publication of his book, but it is to be hoped that the work will be issued even without his finishing touch. Sir Charles was a great scholar of Buddhism and his death is a severe loss to the cause of Buddhist scholarship.

A number of Western Buddhists have been coming to Japan of late with the desire of studying Buddhism, especially Zen meditation. The difficulty is that there is no suitable place for them to stay. Their spirits may be willing, but their bodies cannot stand the regime of temple life and the hotels are too expensive and not suitable. Now it is proposed to build a simple house as a Buddhist Hospice where such students may come, pay what they can afford, and have a quiet place with simple but comfortable quarters where they may study and practise Buddhism.

It is stated that the establishment of the Hospice is for the purpose of initiating Western people into Oriental religion and culture and thereby to bring about a better understanding and sympathy between East and West. The committee consists of the following persons—Tesshu Kōtsugi, Abbot of Myōshinji; Shinichi Sagami, Governor of Kyoto Prefecture; Kahei Toki, Mayor of the City of Kyoto; Keishu Ito, Abbot of Kinkakuji; Daisetz T. Suzuki, Editor of the *Eastern Buddhist*; Ryōichi Gotō, Member of the House of

Representatives; Kōson G. Goto, Editor of the *Shōbōrin* and *Mishō*; and it contains the names, as hearty sympathisers, of many prominent Buddhist priests. It is hoped that the Hospice will be ready at the end of this year.

Recently two young men from America who were ordained as monks in San Francisco under Rev Nyogen Senzaki have come to Kyoto to study Zen Buddhism. Their Buddhist names are Koun and Mokusai respectively. They are now earnestly living the life of Zen monks at the Sōdō (Monks Hall), of Daitokuji temple.

Mr Broughton, the Vice-president of the English Mahā-Bodhi Society, is now in Ceylon working for the Buddhist cause. We understand that later on he will be coming to Japan where he will be very welcome.

The Pan-Pacific Y. M. B. A. Conference at Honolulu, Hawaii, was held last summer and thirty-six delegates were sent from Japan. Mr M. Iwakura represented our Society.

In the last *Eastern Buddhist* a note was made as to using religious themes as subjects for moving picture films and theatrical performances. The latest of the moving picture plays of this kind is *Muyūgé* which tells the life story of the late Baroness Takeko Kujō, a devoted Buddhist and a celebrated poet. *Muyūgé* consists of a series of pictures showing the beautiful personality of the Baroness. The part of Takeko is taken by two young women, one very young in the earlier scenes, and the other older to portray the mature woman. Baroness Kujō preferred to spend her life in working for Buddhism and the poor to moving in the society to which she was entitled. Moreover, she was a true Bodhisattva; she did not long for Nirvana but on her death-bed asserted that she would return to this world to continue her work in propagating Buddhism and helping the poor.

In this, she was a true Mahayanist, for the ideal of Mahayana is not to pass on to Nirvana but to return again to this world of Samsara to work for others. The play *Muyūgé* was successful in showing something of the fine character and loving personality of this remarkable woman.

The Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra, or the Book of Golden Splendour, which belongs to the Mahayana has been published in the Devanāgarī under the joint editorship of the late Professor Bunyu Nanjo and Mr Hokei Idzumi. The first chapter of this sutra appeared some time ago in the *Eastern Buddhist* together with an English translation. While it contains in its present Sanskrit form a great deal of the later phases of the Mahayana, there is no doubt that it occupies a significant position in the history of Mahayana Buddhism in India. For instance, the second chapter on the age of the Tathagata breathes the same spirit which inspired the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, the "Lotus Gospel." The idea that Śākyamuni as a Tathagata lives eternally foreshadows the doctrine of the Trikāya (Three Bodies), one of the principal dogmas of the Mahayana teaching. Though the present text of the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa* does not contain the chapter on the Trikāya, both Pao-kuei in 597 and I-tsing in 703 used a text containing this chapter. Is this omission in the one mere accident? And is the presence in the other an intentional addition showing later development? This is one of those questions which, in spite of their utmost historical importance, present almost insurmountable difficulties for solution. The Sanskrit text of the "Golden Splendour" as edited by Nanjo and Idzumi containing pp. xxvi + 222 is supplied with an introduction. In it the editor Mr Idzumi refers to the different Tibetan and Chinese translations and to similarities of thought between the *Suvarṇa* and the *Puṇḍarīka* and other Mahayana texts. Published by The Eastern Buddhist Society. Price ¥ 10.

Dr Daijo Tokiwa has published another ponderous work following his study of Buddhata (Buddha-nature). The new book is entitled *Buddhism in its Relation to Confucianism and Taoism in China*: size, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ inches, pp. 750+28. To treat the subject thoroughly is quite a gigantic task far more than one scholar with all his learning and scholarly acumen could handle during his life-time. The author fully acknowledges the enormity of the work especially because the field has never been systematically explored. He is satisfied if he has succeeded in clearing it up to a certain extent so that those who come after can have a general survey much better than before. It is a learned work showing great erudition on the part of the author, who by the way had recently the unfortunate accident of being run over by a motor-cycle. The introduction treats of the general history of Buddhism in China since its first transportation there and the beginnings of its relationship with Taoism and Confucianism. The main body of the work is divided into two general sections: Buddhism and Confucianism, and Buddhism and Taoism. The first section is subdivided into (1) the period prior to Sung Confucian philosophers, (2) Buddhism and the Sung philosophers such as Chou-tze, Chang-tze, the Ch'eng Brothers, Chu Hsi, Lu Hsiang-shan, etc., and (3) the Ming Confucians headed by Hu, Wang, etc. The second section contains a general survey of Taoism, Taoism as a religion, its canonical books, the objects of worship, the founders, the history of Taoism in the Three Kingdoms, in the Northern and the Southern Dynasties, in Sui and T'ang, its collisions with Buddhism in T'ang, its organisation and consolidation, etc. in Sung, Yüan and Ming, etc. The book forms the thirteenth volume of the Oriental Library Series published by the Oriental Library (Tōyō Bunko), Tokyo. It is to be regretted that many scholarly works of a similar nature which have international value are more or less inaccessible, to students generally outside Japan.

Professor Shōwun Toganowo, of Kōyasan Buddhist College, who is the author of the *Study of the Mandalas* has published another elaborate work on the *Rishukyō* known in Sanskrit as *Adhyardhaśatika-prajñāpāramitā*. It is entitled *The Study of the Rishyukyō*, size $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ inches, pp. 541+43, including numerous maṇḍala illustrations, indices, the Tibetan version, and the Sanskrit text. The *Rishukyō* is, according to the author, one of the most fundamental canonical texts of esoteric Buddhism and the living fountain of the Shingon school of the present day; it is also the gospel of love in which Buddhist arts find their inspiration; it belongs to this world and is close to life as it is lived here on earth. What distinguishes this sutra boldly from other authoritative books of the Shingon sect is the idea of *mahāsukha* (great enjoyment), and as this enjoyment lends itself to two opposite interpretations carnal and spiritual, the text becomes quite a dangerous instrument in the hands of the unscrupulous followers of the school, which was really the case once in its history even in Japan. Its use, therefore, was permitted only to those who were spiritually qualified. Professor Toganowo now exhausts all his scholarly attainments in order to bring out in an unequivocal manner what he considers the orthodox interpretation of the sutra not only from the philosophical but from the religious point of view. According to Shingon symbolism, the whole secret of the *Rishukyō* is represented in what is known as the *Gohitsumandara*, or "Maṇḍala of Five Secrets." The central figure is Vajrasattva who is surrounded by the four goddesses of love. When it is represented by a single deity, we have Aizen-myōwo, god of love, although in appearance he is far from our worldly conception of a god of love. What interests the reader most will be the author's view of the monumental Boroboedoer temple. He thinks this is not only a Chaitya dedicated to the Dharmakāya or Ādhibuddha or Vajrapāṇi, but its karma-maṇḍala. It is a tridimensional representation on the most gigantic scale of the teaching of

the Vajrayāna school of Buddhism in India. The *Rishukyo* itself is not a long one, and its teaching belonging to the Vajrayāna is altogether bold, direct, and radical. When it is not rightly understood, it turns readily into the left extreme (*vāmamārga*), which it purposes to bring under subjugation. The author is to be congratulated in his successful handling of the delicate subject full of pitfalls. It also presents interesting material for students of religious psychology, especially of the phenomena of ecstasy.

Professor Chijen Akanuma, of Otani Buddhist College, Kyoto, who is the compiler of a comparative index to the Pali Nikayas and the Chinese Agamas is now the author of a *Dictionary of the Proper Names* that are found in the Pali scriptures of Buddhism. It is a painstaking work, and as we have it before us the result is quite a creditable one, and most thoroughgoing. References are given in detail. So far we have four parts of it, pp. 1-672, "Abala" — "Sutabrahma". A fifth will complete the work.* The proper names are chiefly biographical, geographical, mythological, etc. "Rājagiriya," "Ekavyohāra," "Sakka," etc. are in themselves learned theses. Size: $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Mr Bunkyo Sakurabe, of Otani Buddhist College Library, has compiled a complete catalogue of the Kanjur division of the Tibetan Tripitaka. The contents of each sutra belonging to this division are carefully compared with the corresponding ones in the existing Sanskrit, Pali, and Chinese texts, giving the page-references. It goes without saying that these comparisons and references immensely facilitate the work of Buddhist scholars who had hitherto to waste so much time and energy in finding out correspondences. The whole catalogue, probably over 300 pages,

* While reading this proof, we are informed of the appearance of the final part.

is to be issued in three parts, two of which are already out. Size $7\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Professor Unrai Wogihara, of Taisho Buddhist College, Tokyo, has at last finished editing the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* on which he has been working for some years. The manuscript prepared by him for publication some years ago had the unfortunate event of going astray somewhere in India. There are only two original manuscripts so far discovered, the one in Cambridge and the other in Kyoto; but Dr Wogihara's erudition has enabled him to present us with a perfectly readable text of a work belonging to the Yogācāra school of Buddhism. The subject treated concerns the life of a Bodhisattva, that is, what constitutes Bodhisattvahood which is the essence of the Mahayana. We are glad that the number of the Mahayana Sanskrit texts accessible to the general reader is growing larger every year, and hope that Japanese Buddhist scholars will not relax their efforts to produce in the near future all the most important ones. Dr Wogihara intends to publish the second and concluding part before long. Part One is ₹ 5.00. Pp. 188.

The "Modern Meaning of Buddhism" by Bungo Hirose, (*Riso*, Modern Religious Questions Number)—Of many articles which we have read recently, this is rather remarkable in its plain and clear statement, though in some respects we cannot agree with the author. He contends that the fallacy of modern idealism lies in its presumption of conceptional knowledge, while Buddhist philosophy upholds the wisdom through practice which enables one to accept life as it is. The duty of Buddhism in recent times in which social consciousness is so developed, is not to seduce a social man into solitude but to pick up those who have unfortunately fallen into it and make them again heroes of society.

According to the author, Buddhism is an expression of philosophical experience by means of religious faith, con-

sequently, those who have understood philosophy well enough can comprehend Buddhism though they have no specially religious experience. Such remarks however may sometimes cause mistake, for they blur the distinction between religious experience and that of philosophy. The author seems to have explained Buddhist experience too philosophically. Aside from that, this article has a twofold value: it points out the fallacy of modern idealism and it upholds the duty of Buddhism towards modern consciousness.

Mr Albert J. Edmunds has recently issued a fourth edition of his "Dialogue between Two Saviors." As was once noticed in one of the preceding numbers of this magazine, the Dialogue takes place between Christ and Buddha, in which they including also Confucius agree "to found a house for man" not in these "seen worlds of birth and death, torture and wickedness," but somewhere "over the sunset bars" and "beyond the farthest stars." Now the author adds a new chorus entitled "Mahayana" which follows:

"The Buddha died, to far Nirvana gone,
And left the Truth behind to save us all.
But are we saved?—Samantabhadra rose,
The Altogether Good, an Eastern saint.
Said: 'I train myself for Buddhahood.
Ye fellow-bodhisattvas, one and all,
I charge you, enter not the final bliss
Till every soul be rescued from the Dark!'
And so the angels of the sunrise faith
Besiege the gates of hell with Christ and Joan."

The editors of the *Eastern Buddhist* find it very difficult to issue the magazine regularly. Hereafter it will be published as time and circumstances permit, at least one and in all probability two numbers in a year. They thank the editors of the magazine exchanges who in spite of this irregularity have continued to send their magazines. *The Eastern Buddhist* will not be discontinued without due notice.

PERIODICALS

Buddhism in England continues to be of interest to western students of Buddhism and, of late, Mahayana Buddhism is receiving attention. The Japanese Buddhist sects have received treatment in recent numbers, Zen by Mr Dwight Goddard, Shin and Jodo by Mr Masatoshi Mori, Shingon by Rev Akizuki of Koyasan and by Mrs Beatrice Suzuki. The condensed reprint of Mr Suzuki's *Outline of Mahayana Buddhism* is continuing. The Buddhist Glossary and Bibliography is of much value. Various other articles, notes, reviews, and news make up each number of this instructive magazine.

The British Buddhist also gives notes of the Buddhist world and interesting articles from the Hinayana point of view.

The Hawaiian Buddhist Annual for 1930 has a number of outstanding articles such as "Buddhism as a World Force" by Su Hari Singh Gour; "Rally to the Diamond Banner" by Bernard L. Broughton; "Śākyamuni as a Youth" by Warren Takeda; "Life as a Unity Process" by Martin Steinke; and many others equally interesting.

The Chinese Buddhist published by Wong Mow Lam in Shanghai is a quarterly issued for the purpose of linking up China with foreign Buddhists; articles on Buddhists and Buddhism abroad together with other news and notes make this a welcome addition to Buddhist periodicals.

The Mahā-Bodhi is a Buddhist magazine published in India under the direction of the Anagarika Dharmapala. In a recent number there is a thoughtful article on Buddhist Salvation by the late lamented Dr. Dahlke.

The Vedānta Kesari is devoted to the exposition of practical Vedānta teachings as given out by the Order of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda and has many articles of note, illuminating to the Buddhist as well as the Vedantist student.

Prabuddha Bharati is another magazine devoted to the

Vedānta. In recent numbers, there have been articles by such eminent writers as Romain Roland, Swami Vivekananda, and Professor Radhakrishna besides those by Swamis connected with the Ramakrishna Mission. The January number has an article telling about Mrs Sevier, a devoted disciple of Swami Vivekananda, who established an Advaita centre and retreat at Mayavati. Mrs Sevier's life was truly a noble one.

The Shrine of Wisdom is always interesting. It is like a little jewel box of wisdom amid a flood of much materialistic and sordid magazines of the present day. We look forward to it with pleasure. The Winter Number contains a selection from Porphyry and the Life of Porphyry, also the Classic of Purity, a Taoist Classic.

Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik is the organ of the *Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, edited by Dr Wilhelm Geiger with scholarly articles on Oriental subjects and fine book reviews. To mention only two in a recent number, we notice "Die Quellen des Mahāvamsa" by Dr Wilhelm Geiger and another by D. Shinwachar "A Brief Sketch of Dvaita Vedanta Literature."

The Occult Review of London has often articles of interest to Buddhists, for example, the editorial in the November number on the artist, Nicholas Roerich, and the article in the January issue on Zen by Bayard Elton. The reviews in the department, Periodical Literature, the Book Reviews, Correspondence, and Notes are always informing and in nearly every number we find some articles of quality.

Extreme-Asie, Revue Indo-chinoise Illustrée, is a handsome volume published in the French language at Saigon. There are always interesting articles, well illustrated with photographs and drawings. Mrs Sugimoto's "Daughter of a Samurai" translated in French has been running as a serial. There are often descriptions of Chinese temples and the "Annales du Voyages de M. Wa au Pays des Falin-ki" was noticed in a recent number.

The Message of the East is another Vedanta magazine published in Boston, in the United States. In each issue is an instructive article from the pen of Swami Paramananda who is in sympathy with Buddhism.

The Mythic Magazine which comes to us from India has an article on "The Buddhist Stupa," a comparative study by Ramavarma, and a long and arresting one on "Hindus as Pioneers of the World Civilization" by Dhyanchandra.

The Theosophical Quarterly published by the Theosophical Society (Independent) of New York is a dignified, instructive magazine having much affinity with Buddhism. The first article in the January Number contains passages with comments from the Buddhist sutras. There is also a fine translation of the Brihad Arayaka Upanishad by Charles Johnston and an article on Iamblichus by Stanley V. La Dow. The Book Review department and Questions and Answers are of value. The whole contents make up a most worthwhile magazine.

The Burlington Magazine for December 1930 is a handsome number. The chief contents are—"A Persian Painting of the Mid-Fifteenth Century," by Laurence Binyon; "Rediscovered Rembrandt Paintings" by W. R. Valentiner; "Early Mudejar Woodwork" by Bernard Bevan; "Persian Silks of the Middle Ages" by Heinrich Schmidt, and many others of equal interest. The one which concerned us most was the description by Osvald Siren on "Two Monuments of Early Chinese Sculpture" with illustrations of a lion and Bodhisattva.

The Bulletin of Oriental Studies, Vol. V, Part IV and Vol. VI, Part I, 1930. In the tables of contents of both these numbers we find many noteworthy articles to the Oriental student. The Book Reviews are very thorough and in themselves are small articles of value.

The Bulletin of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, of Poona, India. The volumes for 1930 are filled with scholarly articles on Indian subjects. "The Edict of

Asoka Reconsidered'' by D. R. Bhandarkar and a study of Krishna by S. N. Tadapatrikar were especially noted.

Other magazines received which we read with interest and for which we give our thanks are.—*The Journal of Religion* devoted to Christian Doctrine, published by the University of Chicago Press.—*The Epoch* published by Mrs James Allen at Ilfracombe, England, one of the best magazines devoted to the New Thought.—*The Rosicrucian Magazine* from Oceanside, California, which promulgates the teaching of the Rosicrucians as given out to the world by the late Max Heindel.—*Le Lotus Bleu* is the organ of the Theosophical Society in France; it often contains articles of interest to Buddhists, for example, the description of the temples of Angkor.—*La Revue Spirite*, Journal d'études Psychologique et de Spiritualisme Experimental. Its title explains the contents of the magazine which concerns itself with the subject of individual life beyond the grave.—*The Dawn*, of Hyderabad, India, is devoted to the work and writings of Mr T. L. Vaswani.—*The Meher Message* is the organ for the teachings of the Master Shri Maher Baha of Nasik, West India.—*The Liberal Catholic*, from London is issued in the interests of the Liberal Catholic Church.—*The Theosophical Messenger* reviews the articles of American Theosophists.—*The Canadian Theosophist* is an independent theosophical Magazine.—*The Kalpaka*, The Psychic Review of the East from Tinnevely, India.—*The Vedic Magazine* edited by Pr. Ramadeva of Gurukura-kangri, India, which contains informative articles on India and Indian Thought.—*The Logos*, Internationale Zeitschrift für Philosophie der Kultur, issued from Tübingen contains scholarly articles on philosophy in the German language.—*Journal of the Andha Historical Research Society*, of Madras, India presents learned articles connected with Indian History.—*Journal Asiatique* of Paris contains scholarly articles and reviews of interest to Orientalists.—*Le Bulletin des Polaires*, organ of the occult fraternity of the Polaires of Paris.—*Calamus*, A

Quarterly furthering the study of comparative religion and all that makes for the realisation of the Unity of All Life, under the direction of Will Hayes.—*Illumination*, an International Journal devoted to the Enlightenment of Man published by the School of Life Foundation connected with the Nicholas Roerich Museum of New York.—*Inspiration*, Organ of the Eliost Ministry of Brookline, Massachusetts, U.S.A. an association for healing and practical instruction, conducted by Waller de Voe.—*Review of Philosophy and Religion* being the Journal of The Academy of Philosophy and Religion of Poona, India.—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, edited by Dr Narendra Nath Law, Calcutta, India.—*Il Progresso Religioso*, Rome.—*Litterae Orientales*, Orientalistischer Literaturbericht issued by Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, containing always a leading article by some eminent scholar.—*The Vaitarani*, A Review of Current Literature, the only English monthly of Orissa, India, edited by Bidyadhar Singh Deo.—*The Yoga-Mimansa*, edited by S'rimat Kuvalayananda, Bombay, India.

We are sorry that four of our exchanges have expired during 1930. *The Quest*, scholarly and suggestive magazine ably edited by Mr Mead in London.—*The Young East* of Tokyo which aimed to spread the teachings of Buddhism in popular form.—Mr Goddard's little *Zen* and last of all an Italian friend *Ultra*. We regret them all and feel that the world has lost something beautiful and vital in losing them.

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NOTE

In order to publish the longer articles undivided instead of cutting them into several sections, we have decided to issue a double number of *The Eastern Buddhist*, which will complete Vol. IV. The first number of Vol. V will soon follow and in it all the material such as notes, reviews, exchanges, etc., that had to be excluded from this number owing to lack of space, will appear.—EDITOR.

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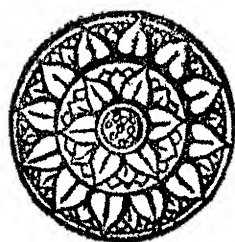
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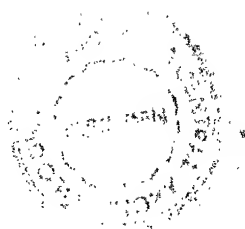
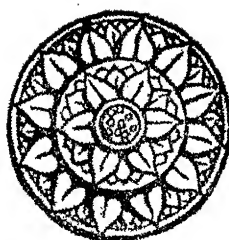
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